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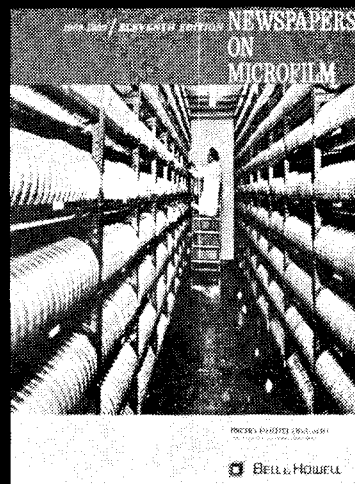
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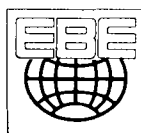
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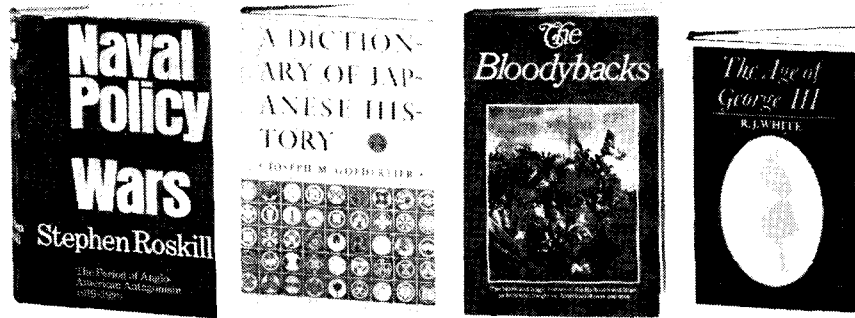
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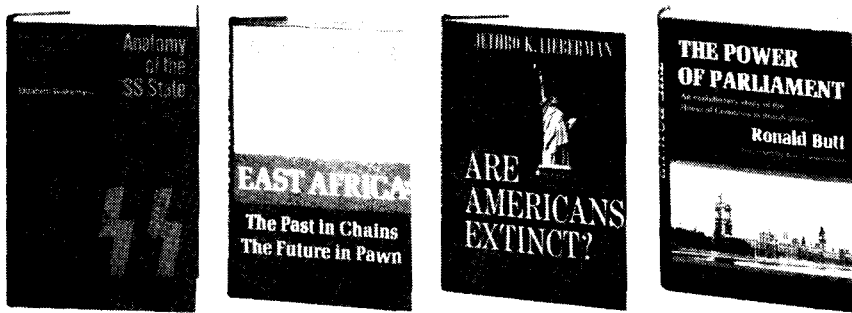
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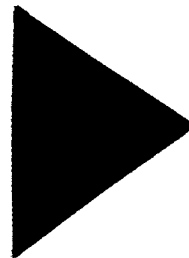
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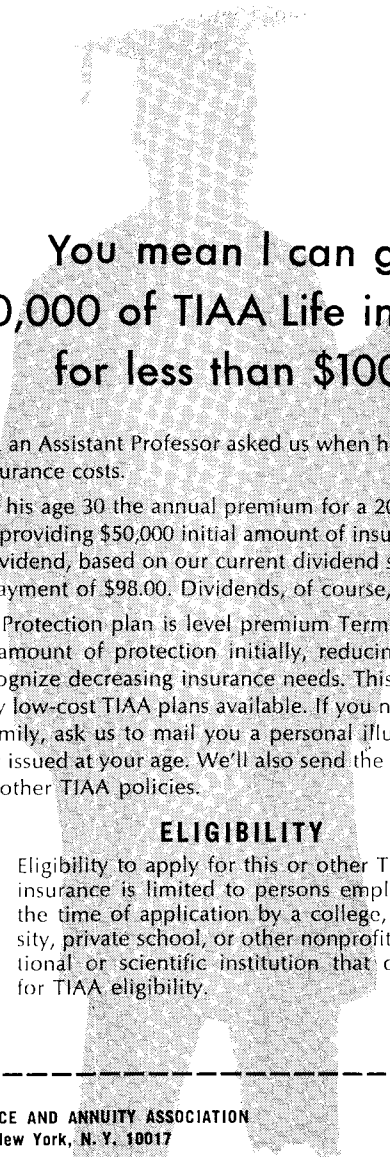
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Assignment for the '70's

JOHN K. FAIRBANK

WHEN William L. Langer addressed us in 1957 he deplored the "tendency . . . of historians to become buried in their own conservatism. . . . We must be ready, from time to time," he said, "to take flyers into the unknown. . . ." As our "next assignment" he urged historians to use "the concepts and findings of modern psychology" and psychoanalysis.¹ Since 1957 this assignment has had influence because its author perceived and encouraged a latent possibility in historical thinking. As one of Mr. Langer's many students I wish to borrow his term and suggest an assignment that I am sure is already in the minds of many of us and yet perhaps can be more explicitly formulated and more clearly recognized.

This assignment for the '70's is presented within a rather stark framework of three assumptions. I assume first that we have entered an era of

►Mr. Fairbank, Francis Lee Higginson Professor of History and Director, East Asian Research Center, Harvard University, delivered this presidential address at the Statler Hilton Hotel, New York City, December 29, 1968.

¹ William L. Langer, "The Next Assignment," *American Historical Review*, LXIII (Jan. 1958), 284. For a survey of recent work, see Bruce Mazlish, "Clio on the Couch: Prolegomena to Psycho-history," *Encounter*, XXXI (Sept. 1968), 46-54. A recent study in Chinese psycho-history is by Robert Jay Lifton, *Revolutionary Immortality: Mao Tse-tung and the Chinese Cultural Revolution* (New York, 1968). In preparing this paper I have been indebted to Dorothy Borg and Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., for helpful advice and comment.

world crisis both within and among the nations, in which Americans, Europeans, Chinese, and other peoples will all be increasingly entangled. Let us retain the hope that this will be a stage on the way to national and world reorganization and happier times. The world crisis has certain common origins and common features, beginning with the growth of scientific and material technology, accompanied by growth of populations, communications, cities, economies, national politics, military firepower, and the like, which in turn have created complex problems running all the way from famine and insurgency to pollution, traffic jams, teen-agers, factionalism, and breakdown of consensus. Our human propensity for technological innovation seems out of control, both within the nations and among them. It breeds revolution at home and war abroad. Technological progress, which we once so admired, now has us by the throat.

Second, I assume that our organized human capacity to respond to this explosive growth and revolutionary change is showing ominous limitations. Our problems may be formulated on many levels and in terms of each of the various disciplines, from ecology to psychiatry to political philosophy. They come down to the question how to identify problems and how to change our institutions and ideas rapidly enough to cope with problems that we can recognize. "Institution" is a protean word I shall not attempt to define except as "habituated group behavior"; by "ideas" I mean, for our purposes, mainly habits of thought. My point is that the world crisis puts a premium on our capacity to change our customary assumptions, traditional values, inherited images, and cherished mechanisms as part of our general effort at growth and change in our institutional and intellectual behavior. We historians, as at best creators or at least curators of our image of the world and our place in it, have a special role to perform.

Third, I assume that within this broad and dire context, China presents a special world problem requiring special treatment. If China were not the most distinctive and separate of the great historical cultures, if the Chinese language were not so different and difficult, if our China studies were not so set apart by these circumstances, our China problem would not be so great. But the fact is that China *is* a uniquely large and compact section of mankind, with a specially self-contained and long-continued tradition of centrality and superiority, too big and too different to be assimilated into our automobile-TV, individual-voter, individual-consumer culture. China is too weak to conquer the world but too large to be digested by it. China's eventual place in the world and especially America's relationship to China therefore bulk large on the agenda for human survival. If China builds up an ICBM stockpile in the years ahead, nuclear deterrence will become more

and more "a perilous triangular affair."² This will be something new because China in our experience has usually been only promises unrealized—promises of trade that never really developed, of Christianization that never got very far, of parliamentary democracy that aborted. But missiles today are real. America may desperately want to turn inward, but nuclear missiles face outward. They hold us in a common destiny with our most distant adversaries. Our precarious coexistence will never be quite blind, but it may easily become myopic. The American historical image of China and of America's interaction with China thus may help or hinder our survival.

By stating these three assumptions—that we are all in a world crisis of growth and change, explosive "development" and violent "modernization," at home and abroad, that we historians must strive most of all to update our thinking so as to improve American institutional and ideological behavior, and that we must confront our China problem intellectually as a special case in need of rethinking—I have of course tried to pre-empt a position without proof and lay the basis for an argument that may seem logical though actually ignorant and biased. This, however, is a privilege customarily accorded to those who give presidential addresses. They have to start somewhere. It is easiest in mid-air, at a high level of generality.

I propose to deal with the role (or nonrole) of Chinese history in professional historical thinking in America, including the function of the China "expert" and how to get rid of him. We historians can help to lead American thinking in many ways, but the historical profession first has a job to do in its own thinking about China, a job that China specialists cannot do for it. This job is simply to get a truer and multivalued, because multicultural, perspective on the world crisis, on our own role in it, and on the role of the Chinese as the most indigestible and unassimilable of the other peoples. China is the most pronounced case of "otherness" on which we need perspective. Our relationship with China poses most concretely the problem of observing ourselves as we observe and deal with others. This leads us to the bifocal question: What image have we of our self-image? What do we think we think we are doing in the world?

The first practical question is: where has Chinese history been since the founding of the American Historical Association eighty-four years ago? The answer seems to lie in the interaction of four academic spheres—Sinology, history, social science, and area study. Let us begin with the peculiar bifurcation that has grown up between Sinology and history.

Chinese history began among us as part of Sinology: the study of Chinese

² Ralph Lapp's phrase in "China's Mushroom Cloud Casts a Long Shadow," *New York Times Magazine*, July 14, 1968, 50.

civilization through the Chinese language and writing system. Organized Sinology in the United States antedated organized history by forty-two years. The American Oriental Society began in 1842, the American Historical Association in 1884. J. Franklin Jameson tells us that the founding of the AHA was inspired partly by the example of the American Oriental Society.³ In short, we Americans were never unaware that there was a lot of history over there in China; only it had to be got at through Sinology, the study of Chinese characters, an experience so psychedelic and indescribable to outsiders that it did to Sinologists what the Chinese writing system has always done to the Chinese people—convinced them of the pre-eminent uniqueness and separateness of all things Chinese. And so Sinology and history have grown up as separate institutions in American life, running parallel. In size of membership, they have of course been unequal, in about the classic proportions of the rabbit and the horse.

We can see Sinology and history going through four rather parallel phases of growth. The first phase was one of distinguished amateurism. The American Oriental Society, incorporated by the Massachusetts General Court in 1843, represented in America the European interest in Orientalism generally, which had contributed originally to the Enlightenment and was later marked, for example, by the founding of the *Société Asiatique* in Paris in 1822.⁴ But the American Oriental Society had from the first a distinctive sense of mission. Its aim was to cultivate "learning in the Asiatic, African, and Polynesian languages," partly to assist the translation of Scripture. Orientalism in America was tied in with evangelism. AOS membership included missionaries in the Near East, India, and the Far East.⁵ Among them was the first American missionary to China, E. C. Bridgman, who reached Canton in 1830 and began publishing the first American Sinological journal, the *Chinese Repository*, in 1832. His junior colleague, Samuel Wells

³ "Moses Coit Tyler publicly stated that the first suggestion of such an organization had come to him from President Daniel C. Gilman, who pointed to the value accruing from the meetings of such bodies as the American Oriental Society and the American Association for the Advancement of Science." (J. Franklin Jameson, "The American Historical Association, 1884-1909," *American Historical Review*, XV [Oct. 1909], 4.)

⁴ Europe's view of Asia in the sixteenth century is magisterially surveyed by Donald Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe* (2 vols., Chicago, 1965), I, the first of six projected volumes from 1500 to 1800, but the organized Western study of the East in the nineteenth century is a subject that is still neglected. For a pioneer survey, see V. V. Barthold, *La découverte de l'Asie: Histoire de l'Orientalisme en Europe et en Russie*, tr. from the Russian ed. of 1925 and bibliographically updated by B. Nikitine (Paris, 1947), esp. Chap. I.

⁵ The first AOS presidential address by John Pickering in 1843 expressed two articles of the American faith that still flourishes: "That mighty empire which has been for ages encased within its own walls, is at no distant day to be opened and come into communication with the rest of the . . . world. In that country also America may justly boast of able scholars, who have mastered all the difficulties of the language." (*Journal of the American Oriental Society*, I [1849], 42-43.)

Williams, produced his two volumes on China, *The Middle Kingdom*, in 1848. Williams was a gifted amateur historian of the same mid-century vintage as Francis Parkman, William H. Prescott, and George Bancroft.

A second phase of growth, one of scientific professionalism, came with the organization of American learned societies in the 1870's and 1880's, including the AHA, which was chartered by Congress in 1889.⁶ The idea of history as a science, popular at the end of the century, was paralleled in Europe by the growth of professional and scientific Sinology, especially at Paris where the leading journal *T'oung Pao* began publication in 1890. The accumulation of factual bricks to build an edifice of learning (or at least pile up a heap of knowledge) created the tradition of micro-Sinology, which was nourished by the Chinese tradition of *k'ao cheng hsueh*, establishing textual facts for facts' sake. But America lagged behind Europe in this professional Sinology.

In the next phase, roughly the first third of the twentieth century, both history and Sinology were challenged by social science and suffered a comparative slowdown. The old scientific history accumulated by "conservative evolutionists" no longer explained enough. As the "skeptical experimental attitude of science" continued to undermine inherited values on every level, the rise of the social sciences put historians on the defensive.⁷ They responded by trying to make history a social science. The 1920's saw the rise of foundation funding, the entrepreneurial facilities provided by the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council, and the growing impact of the social sciences on historical thinking, which became more problem oriented. By the 1930's it was argued that the historian's present-day subjective values entered so deeply into his history writing that he could only produce, as Charles Beard put it, "written history as an act of faith," thinking within a "framework of assumptions" inside a "climate of opinion." The New History meanwhile had broadened out and greatly diversified. In the 1930's the AHA had some 3,500 members.

In Chinese studies there had been a few notable pioneers like Arthur W. Hummel at the Library of Congress and, at Yale, Kenneth Scott Latourette, President of this association in 1948. But Sinological training in America had marked time. Only from about 1930 was professional training in Chinese and Japanese supported by the ACLS, the Rockefeller Foundation, and

⁶ Amid the copious literature on the growth of historical studies in America, I have learned most from certain recent works that give structure to the subject and extensive citations of other works: John Higham *et al.*, *History* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1965); W. Stull Holt, *Historical Scholarship in the United States and Other Essays* (Seattle, 1967); Thomas C. Cochran, *The Inner Revolution: Essays on the Social Sciences in History* (New York, 1964).

⁷ Higham *et al.*, *History*, 150; Cochran, *Inner Revolution*, 2.

the Harvard-Yenching Institute.⁸ The American Oriental Society still had only a few hundred members.

Despite its earlier beginning, American Sinology had taken a generation longer than history to become professional. It was also slower by a generation to respond to the impact of social science. The marriage of Sinology and social science came only as a shotgun wedding during and after World War II. Area study was born of this union, but the American Oriental Society was not even a midwife. The lead was taken by the ACLS, during the war by the Office of Strategic Services, and later by the Association for Asian Studies, which dates from 1948. Today the AAS has 4,000 members, and its annual spring meeting draws 2,500, who mill about struggling to hear 125 papers.⁹ The AAS has even more committees than the AHA. Since area study is a device by which historians can provide a meaningful context for the application of social science thinking, Chinese history has flourished under AAS auspices. Once interdisciplinary area study got started in the 1940's it became plain that traditional Sinology, the study of China as a whole civilization, had always been interdisciplinary, and this was indeed one reason why it had remained so separate from professional history in America. The subtitle of Williams' *Middle Kingdom* of 1848 had been *A Survey of the Geography, Government, Education, Social Life, Arts, Religion, etc., of the Chinese Empire and Its Inhabitants*, much like the syllabus of an area survey course today.

A fourth and final phase may be discerned in the parallel growth of history and Sinology, a phase of self-conscious maturity and coalescence. Since World War II, in John Higham's phrase, we have seen a "renewal of history," a "revival of confidence in historical knowledge."¹⁰ As Roy Nichols expressed this two years ago, we historians now realize we have our "own intellectual birthright. . . . a discipline and a series of unique functions of our own. . . . we have an intellectual capacity of our own, not fully realized, which we can develop."¹¹ In short, history is not just one of the social sciences. History and natural science together provided the background of learning and of methodology out of which the social sciences emerged. History has been enriched by the social sciences, but the historian's task of synthesis remains distinct and *sui generis*.

⁸ Mortimer Graves of the ACLS, with the support of David Stevens of the Rockefeller Foundation, took the lead in organizing a national Committee on the Promotion of Far Eastern Studies. Fellowship support from the Rockefeller Foundation was augmented by that from the Harvard-Yenching Institute under Sergei Elisseeff.

⁹ See relevant issues of the *Far Eastern Quarterly*, I-XV (Nov. 1941-Sept. 1956), continued as the *Journal of Asian Studies*, XVI (Nov. 1956).

¹⁰ Higham *et al.*, *History*, 132.

¹¹ Roy F. Nichols, "History in a Self-Governing Culture," *American Historical Review*, LXXII (Jan. 1967), 423-24.

Looked at as modes of thought, history, the social sciences, and area study including Sinology seem now to have all met and intermingled. They are no longer in separate intellectual channels, and one cannot follow any one stream without getting into the others. The dynamic, indeed volcanic, outpouring of new work in so many fields of history today has its counterpart in a flow of new work in Chinese studies. Needless to say, the unprecedented attention to Asia in our AHA program this year testifies to this new maturity and sense of global balance.

Yet here we run into our institutional backwardness, the stubborn barriers maintained by old habits of thought and customary behavior. What are the facts of our national situation? The same factors that have caused Chinese history to flourish have kept it outside the established channels of the historical profession. Special funds from foundations and from government have led to special development programs. Graduate students are separately financed and separately admitted to separate degree programs with separate requirements. Their intensive language training, like the rigors of an old-time fraternity initiation, make them members of a cult, set apart. They feel both separate and more than equal. Chinese history today is largely dealt with through the Association for Asian Studies, just as American history is so extensively dealt with through another area association, the Organization of American Historians. But there is a difference. The OAH and the AHA are related like daughter and mother (or perhaps daughter-in-law and mother-in-law). But the AHA and the Association for Asian Studies have been complete strangers; until this year there has been no institutional connection or contact of any kind between them. This institutional bifurcation is too big a fact to be classified as an accident.

I suggest that despite our best efforts, the problem of China's separateness is still very much with us; that American studies of the Chinese culture area and of Chinese history have developed in institutional channels separate from European-American history, not merely because of the language problem and cultism in the field of Chinese history but also because of the historical profession's self-sufficiency, its ability to survive and even seem to flourish without benefit of Chinese history. In short, historians in America have been, like historians elsewhere, patriotic, genetically oriented, and culture-bound. (Foreign area specialists are of course culture-bound too, but they are obliged to recognize it and worry about it.) Thus it is an inherited habit of mind among us to recognize the split between Western, that is, Old World-New World, history and that segregated, peripheral afterthought, the history of the "non-West," wherever that is.

One might better call it the "non-us." The "non-us" is of course the non-minority of mankind. Our bifurcated institutional structure, like the separate structures of the AHA and the AAS, thus embodies and perpetuates our bifurcated thinking.

This crippling habit of mind attributes special wisdom to the possessor of exotic learning, the "expert," who in turn plays up to his audience in a vicious circle which, like so many vicious circles, is often rather fun. I know this because I have functioned publicly as a "China expert," a title I wear like a hair shirt, which, nevertheless, like a hair shirt on a holy man of old, has certain compensatory advantages. As a "China expert" looks into the hopeful eyes of sincere and culture-bound American audiences, he tries to meet their need for reassurance that someone knows. He learns to make plausible sense out of their conviction of ignorance and his own scanty information. If you tell them, "China is very big and very, very old," some will always nod their heads. I am referring, of course, to the art of punditry. After all, for anyone who has been president of the Association for Asian Studies, a veritable pooh-bah among the pundits there, it is no trick at all to confront the historical establishment here and be a true pundit among the pooh-bahs. One begins with a touch of the exotic. *Che shih ti-i-tz'u wo-men ti Mei-kuo Li-shih Hsueh-hui ti hui-chang tsai mei-nien ta-hui chiang i-tien Chung-kuo-hua*. In other words, "This is the first time our AHA President at the Annual Meeting has spoken a bit of Chinese." In many American academics this kind of stunt should have produced three thoughts, in addition perhaps to a sense of unease or even annoyance: first, says the listener to himself, "I do not know Chinese"; therefore, second, "I cannot know about China"; and so, third, "I shall leave Chinese matters to the China expert."

If this in any degree approximates your reaction, we now have before us a second fact too big to ignore: the history of Europe and America is our common heritage; it explains us. But China is still exotic, outside our European-American culture, and so we leave China to the "experts." This is intellectual abdication.

Someone may argue, "If I do not read Chinese and Japanese, how can I have scholarly thoughts about East Asia? It would be secondhand scholarship, out of linguistic control and so second-rate." Let me ask in reply, "Do you ever have scholarly thoughts about Greece and Rome and medieval Europe even though you do not actually read Greek and Latin for the purpose? Have you ever ventured to influence a student's thinking about Plato or Caesar or St. Thomas Aquinas while referring to their writings only in English translations?"

The problem here is not: What languages do we read? The problem is: What is our intellectual and historical horizon? What are the boundaries of our curiosity and interest? Must we look back only to our own European and American origins? Must we be so culture-bound?

Here someone may say, quite realistically, "Europe and America, the Old World and the New World, are the majority civilization, the mainstream of history. China has been a minority civilization, an exotic side current, a largely self-contained backwater, not really important."

For your hard-core, proselytizing China specialist, this is of course a salutary thought. There are two answers to it, one pragmatic, one academic, each valid. The pragmatic answer is for men of affairs, in terms of the overused and now shopworn concept of national interest. Our last three wars have all involved us with the Chinese culture area. Our international world and the Chinese fourth or fifth of mankind have to coexist. Survival depends upon it. China is by tradition a profoundly isolationist country, far more stay-at-home than we migrating, mobile Americans can imagine. But modern Communist-nationalism has militant potentialities, and missiles know no boundaries.

This argument of Chinese history for survival is a Sinified updating of the familiar theme of history for use, history the handmaiden of statesmanship, so often voiced in AHA presidential addresses since 1885. I would not deny its applicability here. Trouble ahead has become a safe bet. Calamity howling at funding time is almost reflex action among us. It took World War II to put Chinese studies on their feet in this country. In the last ten years the Ford Foundation has invested in this field more than twenty million dollars—a large sum by academic standards and almost a full working hour's worth of our annual military expenditure. Like it or not, Chinese studies for national defense represent on our campuses a kind of nuclear blackmail we cannot avoid.

The academic argument as to why Mr. Everyman must now become his own East Asian historian is perhaps less newsworthy but intellectually more compelling. The Chinese culture area—China, Japan, Korea, Vietnam—is simply very interesting. Its long history represents perhaps a third of organized human experience. The intellectual and aesthetic challenge of East Asian studies should be irresistible to anyone concerned with the evolution of human affairs. I shall not take your time with a hopeful recital of the potential East Asian contributions to all fields of learning, both in the social sciences and in the humanistic sciences: in the fine arts, in religion and philosophy, in literature and thought, in social and economic organiza-

tion, in the art of government and the art of living. Much has been written on this theme of what East Asian studies have to offer us.

This humanistic argument is, I suggest, part of our traditional academic rhetoric, part of a still larger theme, the promise of what Asia can offer, the image of Asia in American expansion, the lure of the transpacific in the American westward movement, the Asian influence on American life, whether on Ralph Waldo Emerson and transcendentalism, or on Ernest Fenollosa and his circle in the fine arts. This larger theme is of course our latter-day version of the European image of Asia, the lure of the East, the riches of Cathay and the spice trade, the land of Prester John, the tales of Marco Polo, the Peking Jesuits' influence on the Enlightenment, and all the rest.

Without venturing further into this realm of images and influences, I suggest that the civilization of the West has always been aware of the civilization of the East, by turns fascinated and terrified by it, and often responsive to it. In early modern times the small have-not powers of the northwest Eurasian peninsula were triggered to explode over the world partly because the fabled lands of Asia were bigger and richer. We Westerners have all had Asia on our horizon in this fashion. Today the pragmatic motive of national interest and the humanistic motive of intellectual interest are both widely accepted in American education as arguments for bringing East Asia into our schools and colleges. As regards China, two principal efforts are being made, one in world history, one in Chinese history. Both are admirable, but they will not, either singly or together, prepare us for the 1970's.

Consider first the effort at comprehending China through world history. Much is being done in world history courses in high schools and in survey courses in colleges. For example, William H. McNeill's excellent volume, *The Rise of the West*, in addition to this reassuring main title has a more accurate subtitle, *A History of the Human Community*.¹² Because of its broad scope, it is being used as an introductory text for Asian history. The chair at the University of Chicago named for the medievalist James Westfall Thompson, President of this association in 1941, is now held by Professor Ping-ti Ho, who was born in Tientsin and is a member of Academia Sinica in Taipei. These are signs of the times. Our historical teaching and research are both reaching out over the world. The research of Americanists has long since encompassed both sides of the Atlantic in studies of the colonial period, its political thought, the Enlightenment, the democratic revolutions,

¹² William H. McNeill, *The Rise of the West: A History of the Human Community* (Chicago, 1963).

the transatlantic migration, and the like. United States foreign relations are researched in all the European archives. Many among us are trying to take a next step: to move from an integrated European-American history to an intercultural and interconnected world history. But this is not an easy step to take. It cannot be taken merely by area specialists, intent on the uniqueness of their areas, but only by historians able to steer their way across the 360-degree ocean of human experience. Historians who try this must be part social scientists, though in the end the social sciences can provide only bits and pieces, and historians must put the picture together.

World history can be pursued at the level of instruction. But what can be done at the level of research? I am all in favor of world history, but if we look at the reality as well as the rhetoric, how is world history going to be developed, aside from the writing of textbooks? What is the world history on which one can actually do research? And who is going to do it? I need not remind you that professors tend to reproduce their kind until death or retirement prevents them. Our institutional inertia inheres in the way one generation of professors raises up another in its own, slightly idealized image. For the world crisis of the 1970's, to push for world history in general education is not enough. It offers only a prospect of gradual osmosis of ideas, a "trickle up" theory, that our leadership eventually will be so well educated in things Asian and Chinese, for example, that they will have the wit and wisdom to avoid disaster in our Asian relations—a thin hope indeed.

Comparative history is of course a field of great promise. But a bridge must have two ends. Comparative history involving China can be no stronger than our work in Chinese history.

In Chinese history, so much has been accomplished in recent years that I can now contribute most by noting the difficulties that set a low ceiling on our prospects. Number one is the language: no one can simply "read Chinese." If asked, "Do you read Chinese?" one answers, "No, only some kinds of Chinese." This is because the Chinese writing system has a different vocabulary of special terms for each special branch of learning or literature, yet each vocabulary may use the same characters, which are therefore laden with ambiguity, with the result that the special vocabularies have to exist in the mind of the beholder. They are not self-evident in the script. The number of persons in the world who have had a proper classical immersion fitting them to read classical Chinese is undoubtedly dwindling year by year—both on the China mainland where education has been torn down to be rethought and on Taiwan where humanistic studies are undernourished. In Japan, Korea, and Vietnam the phonetic components of the

writing systems continue to be used more and more and the old Chinese characters less and less.

Many weaknesses stem from this difficulty of the writing system. Reading widely in the many styles of classical Chinese is quite beyond the capacity of most of us. One cannot easily scan a work for content. One cannot become as familiar with Chinese literature as were the Chinese of a given era, and so one cannot easily reconstruct their thinking. The degree of error in the creative reconstruction of the past, always great enough, is greater in the case of China.

The sensible remedy for the problem of the Chinese language is a two-platoon system: every American post in Chinese history should be staffed by two men, each of whom in turn can fully devote himself to reading and translating Chinese while the other one takes his turn teaching and recommending students, going to meetings, and keeping up with the *New York Times*. Deans and department chairmen may see a certain infeasibility in this proposal. But the Chinese-language problem is a fact. Only such an allocation of man-hours to work on the language will enable us eventually to discuss Chinese thought and behavior at the level of knowledge and sophistication now expected in European and American history. On the present basis we can turn out monographs and we can use monographs to write surveys, but we shall never become as steeped in the record, as past-minded, as, for example, a Charles McIlwain, a Perry Miller, or a Harry Wolfson, if I may cite only examples from my own acquaintance.

A second difficulty is that the modernization of Chinese historical scholarship has been stunted by war, revolution, and dictatorship. It cannot lead the way for us, except possibly in Taiwan or Japan. The Chinese historical record, meanwhile, is still focused on the court and central government. Study of provincial and local history has barely begun. Nonofficial biographies are few, and historical personalities remain almost unknown. Chinese history is still profoundly underdeveloped.

From all this springs a third difficulty: that we are more than usually in danger of finding what we seek, of posing a Western question and collecting evidence to answer it, ignoring the actual Chinese situation. On this basis we may find China a great case of nondevelopment—nondevelopment of science, nondevelopment of nationalism, failure to develop parliamentary democracy, nonindustrialization, and nonexpansion. If we approach China looking for similarities to ourselves, we can almost find a nongrowth, a China that was “unchanging” because it did not change as we did.

This, unfortunately, is a built-in tendency among our social sciences: Economists looking for China's development find few statistics, faulty base

lines, and many noneconomic factors at work, which they must of course leave to others. Political scientists agree that Mao's revolution, the most massive in history, can be classified as a stage in "political development." It is indeed. Behavioral scientists studying China from outside through a controlled press, defectors' testimony, and travelers' reports find themselves in the position of those medieval surgeons who were obliged to operate under a sheet. The basic fact is that in the case of China social scientists lack that large and reliable accumulation of historically processed learning—statistics, monographs, institutional studies, biographies, political narratives, literary translations, and modern criticism—which in Europe and America formed the intellectual matrix in which the social sciences got their start in the nineteenth century. This can produce real myopia. For example, the members of the Social Science Research Council at their annual September meeting a few years ago, lacking this perspective on their own historical origins and being apparently all the more firmly culture-bound by their belief in the so-called universality of scientific principles, prudently voted that Chinese history before 1911 was not their proper concern. They were not against it; they were merely unable to see its relevance to their work.

Where are we to look for intellectual leadership and new ideas in our confrontation with China in the 1970's? World history in school and college is not enough. The field of Chinese history, much as its devotees approve of it, cannot produce ready answers for statesmen. Social scientists who like to produce such answers are quite capable of leading us, with great rationality, into well-organized and comprehensive disasters. Politicians can do the same without even recognizing the cultural differences that have been their undoing.

Let us profit by our inadvertent war in Vietnam as an object lesson in historical nonthinking. The history of Vietnam has never been part of history in the USA. Indeed, it has not even been part of American Sinology or East Asian studies. By a curious oversight Vietnam has not been included until recently in the Chinese culture area, where it genetically belongs. For example, old Vietnamese books in Chinese characters (like the old literature of China, Korea, and Japan) were not included in the Harvard-Yenching Library, presumably because Vietnam was part of the French Empire, beyond the American horizon. Suppose that our leaders in the Congress and the executive branch had all been aware that North Vietnam is a country older than France with a thousand-year history of southward expansion and militant independence maintained by using guerrilla warfare to expel invaders from China, for example, three times in the thirteenth century, again in the fifteenth century, and again in the late eighteenth century, to say

nothing of the French in the 1950's. With this perspective, would we have sent our troops into Vietnam so casually in 1965? A historical appreciation of the Buddhist capacity for individual self-sacrifice, of the Confucian concern for leadership by personal prestige and moral example, even of the Communist capacity for patriotism, might also have made us hesitate to commit ourselves to bomb Hanoi into submission.¹³

The assignment I suggest for the 1970's is the study of American-East Asian relations. It requires a combination of skills, but the lead must be taken by Americanists. After all, it is America that now heads the Western expansion into the East. It is our trade that flows to and from Japan, our Seventh Fleet that stabilizes the Western Pacific. The United States seeks no territory, but its capacities make its influence the most expansive that history has seen, whether measured by the diffusion of Coca-Cola and *Life-Time* magazines, or of Boeing 707's, or the free distribution of arms and aid. China's expansiveness, which presumably motivated our Vietnam intervention, is in comparison with our own expansiveness like *chiu-niu i-mao*, "a single hair among nine cow-hides," in short, miniscule.

What has been the relation of Vietnam to China, in fact and in our minds? How far was our Vietnam intervention a psychological compensation for the so-called "loss" of China? What makes us tick as we do, at three minutes to midnight? Our historians on the whole do not tell us. (A China "expert" may tell you but he won't know.) We need another dimension to our self-knowledge, for we in America need watching and self-control even more than our adversaries, if only because we have greater capacities.

Americanists have studied the American end of our expansion: the rhetoric of manifest destiny, ideas of mission and empire, business interests and the Open Door for trade. Is it not time for a further step, the study of American activities abroad, our interaction with foreign peoples like the Chinese and Japanese, and the impact of all this experience abroad on our growth at home? The basic fact is that we have interacted with East Asia as well as with Europe. Those who move into new surroundings experience more than those who stay habit-bound at home. Thus Europe's discovery of Cathay in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries produced a vast European literature, contributed to the Enlightenment, energized the European economy, and led on to colonialism and imperialism, while life in China continued in the same period comparatively unaffected from outside. If expanding Europe could be so influenced at many levels by its contact with China,

¹³ "American officials did expect reason and mutual concessions to prevail in 1964 and 1965. . . . They believed that Hanoi would . . . be frightened off by the flexing of our muscles, or be tempted to share in the lucrative rewards of economic cooperation. . . ." (Bill Moyers, "One Thing We Learned," *Foreign Affairs*, XLVI [July 1968], 662.)

what of America? Was expanding America in the nineteenth century somehow less affected, less responsive to novel experience abroad?

The conventional wisdom replies that while the British expanded into India and the Far East, the Americans expanded across their own continent. The western frontier helped shape the American character. Ever since 1893, "the significance of the frontier in American history" has inspired an inundation of literature that seems now to have been for the most part parochially inward looking, explaining and indeed celebrating America's uniqueness and isolation.

Yet in this literature it is casually recognized that American expansion from the Atlantic seaboard went both overland and by sea. Indeed, the New England diaspora of the early nineteenth century found a considerable outlet in the China trade. A first theme to pursue might well be the role of the old China trade as an integral part of the American westward movement. By mid-century Thomas Hart Benton and others were invoking the old dream of "a passage to India," in urging America's expansion to the Pacific for trade with Asia.¹⁴ But while Benton was orating, others were acting.

As a single example, put side by side two books, one by Thomas C. Cochran on American railroad leaders and one by Kwang-Ching Liu on early American steamboating on the Yangtze.¹⁵ One focuses on the American Middle West, the other on Shanghai—two different worlds. But if one mixes them and adds a pinch of the *Dictionary of American Biography*, he gets the story of Russell & Company and the CB & Q, or how the opium trade helped build our railroads. Let me cite four persons only. John Murray Forbes joined the Boston firm of Russell & Company at Canton in 1830 and made a fortune. The firm became the leading American competitor of the British in tea and opium, very close to the richest Canton hong merchant and agent for his investments abroad. After returning from Canton, Forbes in 1846 financed the Michigan Central Railroad, and thereafter he put together the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy system. John Cleve Green of New York joined Russell & Company at Canton in 1833, became head of the firm, cleaned up in opium, retired in 1839, and joined Forbes in financing the Michigan Central and the CB & Q. Green's brother-in-law, John N. Alsop Griswold of New York, became Russell & Company's partner at Shanghai, working closely with Chinese merchants from 1848 to 1854. He returned and became president of the Illinois Central in 1855 and was later chairman

¹⁴ Henry Nash Smith, *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth* (Cambridge, Mass., 1950), Bk. I.

¹⁵ Thomas C. Cochran, *Railroad Leaders, 1845-1890: The Business Mind in Action* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953); Kwang-Ching Liu, *Anglo-American Steamship Rivalry in China, 1862-1874* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962).

of the CB & Q. His successor at Shanghai, George Tyson, partner of Russell & Company from 1856 to 1868, helped inaugurate steamboating on the Yangtze. He returned to become a director and general auditor of the CB & Q. There were others. A cousin, Paul Sieman Forbes, head of Russell & Company in the United States, built steamships both for the Yangtze and for the US Navy, while investing his China profits continually in middle western railways.

For a whole generation of New Yorkers and Bostonians it was easier and more profitable to go to Canton or Shanghai than to Denver or Salt Lake City. In the early half of the nineteenth century, the China frontier was often more inviting for trade than the American frontier, just as the British had found in the eighteenth century. Yet with some notable exceptions the role of the China trade in America's growth has long been neglected. One can best read about it still in Samuel Eliot Morison's classic, *The Maritime History of Massachusetts, 1783-1860*, published forty-seven years ago.¹⁶

When we turn from trade to evangelism, we find the same pattern of American expansion overseas but a general failure of historians thus far to integrate it with continental expansion at home. Religious activities in the nineteenth century—the Second Great Awakening, revivalism and the camp meeting, home missions, and the westward movement of major denominations—have all been studied. But surveys of our westward expansion and our expansionist sentiments say surprisingly little about missionaries, as though religious expansion were a specialized subsector of the American experience, not as noteworthy as economic and political expansion.¹⁷

Perhaps I should explain that my grasp of American history has the enthusiastic sense of discovery typical of a Ph.D. candidate preparing for his general examination, although like all such candidates, I should prefer to postpone my general examination until next April, or perhaps October, or possibly December. But in absolute terms I already have more conclusions about American history than I shall ever reach about Chinese history because so much more knowledge and sophistication have accumulated in the

¹⁶ Samuel Eliot Morison, *The Maritime History of Massachusetts, 1783-1860* (Boston, 1921). Notable works like those of Kenneth Wiggins Porter, *John Jacob Astor: Business Man* (2 vols., Cambridge, Mass., 1931), and Foster Rhea Dulles, *The Old China Trade* (Boston, 1930), were also published a full generation ago.

¹⁷ This strikes me as a general feature of the extensive and useful work thus far available. As a typical example, the wide-ranging study by Edward McNall Burns, *The American Idea of Mission: Concepts of National Purpose and Destiny* (New Brunswick, N. J., 1957), refers frequently to the writings of the expansionist (and home missionary), the Reverend Josiah Strong, but does not look at the possible influence of "foreign missions" or "missionaries," which are not even in his index. Again, Walter LaFeber, *The New Empire: An Interpretation of American Expansion, 1860-1898* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1963), devotes eight pages to Strong's writings, but barely touches on missionary influences in the 1890's (pp. 304-308). Examples could be greatly multiplied. The main point seems to be that mission archives have not been used for monographic studies.

American field. From this bystander's, "but-the-emperor-has-no-clothes," point of view, the missionary in foreign parts seems to be the invisible man of American history. His influence at home, his reports and circular letters, his visits on furlough, his symbolic value for his home church constituency seem not to have interested academic historians.¹⁸

Let me cite only two superficial indicators of this general neglect. The first is Nelson R. Burr's *Critical Bibliography of Religion in America*,¹⁹ where foreign missions are dealt with under "Movements toward Unity" in a subsection on "Foreign Missions and Unity" in a mere sixteen out of twelve hundred pages. These pages, moreover, list mainly records and works from missionary sources. Few academic studies of foreign missions seem to have been made, least of all on their impact at home.

In fact, of course, foreign missions to the Ottoman Empire, India, and China—Asian lands rich in heathen—developed along with home missions to western America. For example, among the Congregationalists the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was organized in 1810, the American Home Missionary Society not until 1826. The American Board got its first missionaries to Oregon and to Canton in the same decade, the 1830's.²⁰ Methodist circuit riders moved across the Alleghenies and through the Middle West with the fringe of settlement. They were in California by 1849, but by 1847 Methodist missionaries had already reached Foochow in China. There they found people in the cities unresponsive and soon placed their hopes in "an expansion movement westward," itinerating among the villages of rural China.²¹ Apparently a missionary set down anywhere would automatically start moving westward.

Subsequently, the demand for evangelism within the USA seems to have grown faster than foreign missions. American church membership grew from about 7 per cent of the population in 1800 to about 36 per cent in 1900.²² But a new surge of foreign missions came at the close of the century. The end of the open land frontier in the 1880's coincided with the rise of the

¹⁸ Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity* (7 vols., New York, 1938-45). Volumes IV-VI are on the period 1800-1914; in them he notes the interaction of missionaries with their environment, but does not pursue the overseas missionaries' influence at home.

¹⁹ Nelson R. Burr, *Critical Bibliography of Religion in America* (2 vols., Princeton, N. J., 1961).

²⁰ For a study of early missionary ideas and activities, see C. J. Phillips, "Protestant America and the Pagan World, The First Half Century of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1810-1860," doctoral dissertation, Harvard University, 1954. James A. Field, Jr., drew this reference to my attention.

²¹ W. C. Barclay, *Widening Horizons 1845-95* (New York, 1957), 367-68. R. S. Maclay wrote: "Our way is gradually opening to the western portions of this province, and thence to the central and western provinces of China." Similarly, Nathan Sites "delighted in pioneer work . . . far up the river to the westward [p. 380]."

²² Latourette, *History of the Expansion of Christianity*, IV, 177.

Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions. The early twentieth century saw a concentration on China as the principal overseas extension of the American frontier.

This neglect of missionaries in American historiography can be seen even in the recent and stimulating symposium, *The Comparative Approach to American History*,²³ in which leaders of the profession compare the American experience with that of other peoples under headings such as the Enlightenment, the Revolution, frontiers, immigration, mobility, slavery, Civil War, industrialization, imperialism, and the like. This volume vigorously attacks the shibboleth of America's uniqueness by putting our self-image in a broader world perspective. But it makes no reference to the long-continued American experience of religious missions overseas, evidently because they remain as yet unstudied. Yet where is there a greater opportunity for comparative study? Missionaries went out from most of Europe and the British Commonwealth as well as from the United States; they came from various sections, as well as various denominations, with all their regional-cultural diversity; they worked in the most diverse lands abroad, encountering widely different societies and institutions. Mission history is a great and underused research laboratory for the comparative observation of cultural stimulus and response in both directions.

The new field of American-East Asian relations must grow in the 1970's also from the East Asian end. In this, American-Japanese relations may take the lead because Japan's modern historiography is more developed than China's. At any rate, it is good news that the AHA now has a Committee on American-East Asian Relations. This committee aims at the miscegenation of two subhistories, those of East Asia and of American foreign relations. This combination is necessary because East Asian studies have had little or no way to support the study of American relations with East Asia, while scholars of American foreign relations have hesitated to deal with the linguistic and cultural difficulties of East Asian history. In the American fashion our AHA committee, headed by Ernest May, has inaugurated a conference program and has sought foundation aid to help us buy our way out of this stalemate and produce young crossbred scholars who can look at both ends of the American-East Asian relationship and try to meet in the middle.²⁴ It is high time.

²³ *The Comparative Approach to American History*, ed. C. Vann Woodward (New York, 1968).

²⁴ Major themes and a wealth of archival as well as published sources are set out in Kwang-Ching Liu, *Americans and Chinese: A Historical Essay and a Bibliography* (Cambridge, Mass., 1963). Great opportunities, for example, lie ahead in the comparison of broad themes in American and Chinese thought: rural utopianism as against urban evil, American nativism and Chinese xenophobia, conflict between nature and technology, between the garden of nature

Today the greatest menace to mankind may well be the American tendency to overrespond to heathen evils abroad, either by attacking them or by condemning them to outer darkness. The study of American foreign missions and their long-continued conditioning influence at home needs no special advocacy in an age when we get our power politics overextended into foreign disasters like Vietnam mainly through an excess of righteousness and disinterested benevolence, under a President who talks like a Baptist preacher²⁵ and who inherited his disaster from a Secretary of State who was also a ruling elder of the Presbyterian Church. Plainly the missionary impulse has contributed both to the American swelled head and to its recent crown of thorns. No people could enjoy so great a conviction of moral righteousness in their activities abroad without long-continued and systematic practice. Washington and Peking today, for all their differences, have two things in common: that new "equalizer" among statesmen, nuclear technology; and a belief that morality sanctions violence.

We historians must update the old Chinese strategic maxim: *chih-chi chih-pi, pai-chan pai-sheng* ("If you can comprehend yourself and comprehend your adversary, you can win every time").²⁶ It is peace with China that must be struggled for and won. Americanists and East Asia specialists must join in a common assignment to comprehend both sides and their dynamic interaction.

and "the machine in the garden" or, in China, the machine intruding from abroad, and so forth. Though vastly misleading if abstracted from their historical-intellectual contexts, such themes, when compared in Chinese and American thought, can someday help to fit both peoples into the larger context of human experience.

²⁵ "They came here . . . the exile and the stranger . . . to find a place where a man could be his own man. They made a covenant with this land . . . it was meant one day to inspire the hopes of all mankind. . . . The American covenant called on us to help show the way for the liberation of man. That is still our goal. . . . If American lives must end, and American treasure be spilled, in countries we barely know, that is the price that change has demanded of conviction." (President L. B. Johnson, inaugural address, Jan. 1965; see Richard Harris, *America and East Asia: A New Thirty Years War?* [London 1968], 19.)

²⁶ In hyperliteral terms: "Know ourselves, know them; hundred battles, hundred victories," a favorite slogan of the late nineteenth-century movement for "self-strengthening" by Westernization.

Thought and Practice of Enlightened Government in French Corsica

THADD E. HALL

THE relation of Enlightenment ideas and political actions has often been discussed in the realm of theory. Corsica, which the republic of Genoa ceded to France by a treaty signed in May 1768, offers a splendid instance of their relation in practice. This article focuses on the thought and practice of French government in Corsica during the island's first two decades as a French province. It does not suggest that the case of French administration in Corsica was typical of French administration on the Continent or that of other so-called enlightened monarchs. It only suggests that the study of French rule in Corsica after 1768 is fertile ground for examining the relationship between the thought of the Enlightenment and the practice of governing eighteenth-century states.

Any discussion of the confluence between the Enlightenment and eighteenth-century government must begin with the important investigation of enlightened despotism undertaken by the International Committee of Historical Sciences in the 1920's and 1930's.¹ The papers presented during the committee's inquiry both defined more clearly what had been "a vague and obscure concept"² and, at the same time, raised some of the questions that have since intrigued many students of modern history. These papers re-

► *An assistant professor at Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, Mr. Hall is interested primarily in early modern French history. In 1966 he received his doctorate from the University of Minnesota where he worked under Paul W. Bamford. He is the author of "The Development of Enlightenment Interest in Eighteenth-Century Corsica," Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century, LXIV (1968). A grant from the United States Fulbright Commission made possible the research for this article, which is an expanded version of a paper presented at the AHA Annual Meeting, Toronto, December 29, 1967.*

¹ *Bulletin of the International Committee of Historical Sciences* [hereafter cited as *BICHHS*], I (No. 5, 1928), 601-12; II (No. 9, 1930), 533-52; V (No. 20, 1933), 701-804; IX (Nos. 34-35, 39, 1937), 2-131, 135-225, 519-37. There are good bibliographies on the subject of enlightened despotism in Jacques Godechot, *Les révolutions* (Paris, 1963); Geoffrey Bruun, *The Enlightened Despots* (2d ed., New York, 1967); John G. Gagliardo, *Enlightened Despotism* (New York, 1967); and Roger Wines, *Enlightened Despotism: Reform or Reaction?* (Boston, 1967).

² The phrase was used by Michel Lhéritier, who launched the committee's investigation of enlightened despotism by his study of "Le rôle historique de despotisme éclairé particulièrement au 18^e siècle," *BICHHS*, I (No. 5, 1928), 601-12. An older study by A. H. Johnson, *The Age of the Enlightened Despots, 1660-1789* (20th ed., London, 1950), which first appeared in 1909, is a good indication of how vague the term enlightened despotism was prior to the committee's inquiry.

vealed disputes over relevant dates and what rulers should be labeled enlightened despots; they brought out conflicting opinions about whether enlightened despotism meant centralization or decentralization of power, a preoccupation with fiscal justice or state building through economic means, authoritarianism or liberalism. These conflicting opinions represent differences among scholars about the nature and characteristics of the thought of the Enlightenment, as well as changes within the monarchic form of government. In addition, they raise the fundamental question of how the thought of the Enlightenment influenced or was otherwise related to the actions of eighteenth-century rulers. Many of the papers presented during the committee's inquiry posed that question, implicitly if not always explicitly, and more recently two eminent European historians have again turned their attention to it. In a series of lectures given at the Sorbonne and subsequently published in 1954, Paul Vaucher pointed to the need for further research on the relationship between the thought and practice of enlightened despotism.³ Then, in 1955, Fritz Hartung, who had been concerned with the subject of enlightened despotism for many years, raised the same question.⁴

Hartung's re-evaluation of enlightened despotism led him to conclude that attempts to demonstrate common features between the thought of the Enlightenment and the practice of eighteenth-century reforming monarchs have been unsuccessful.⁵ The apparent lack of success from such efforts seems to be related to two particularly difficult problems. First, it is not an easy task "to prove" sufficiently that individual philosophes influenced individual rulers.⁶ Second, how can scholars seek relationships between thought and action and yet avoid the dangers of assuming a lineal or a one-to-one

³ Paul Vaucher, *Le despotisme éclairé* (Paris, 1954). On Vaucher's contributions to historical studies, see John C. Rule, "Paul Vaucher: Historian," *French Historical Studies*, V (Spring 1967), 98-105. Rule has reprinted excerpts from Vaucher's study in *Critical Issues in History: The Early Modern Era, 1648-1770* (Boston, 1967), 467-73.

⁴ Fritz Hartung, "Der aufgeklärte Absolutismus," *Historische Zeitschrift*, CLXXX (No. 1, 1955), 15-42.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 16. Hartung's other important contributions to the subject include "Die Epochen der absoluten Monarchie in der neueren Geschichte," *Historische Zeitschrift*, CXLV (No. 1, 1932), 46-52; "Die geschichtliche Bedeutung des aufgeklärten Despotismus in Preussen und in den deutschen Kleinstaaten," *BICHs*, IX (No. 34, 1937), 3-21; *Neuzeit, von der Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts bis zur Französischen Revolution 1789* (Darmstadt, 1965), which first appeared in 1932; and *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte vom 15. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart* (6th ed., Stuttgart, 1950). Hartung's 1955 article marked a considerable retrenchment in his estimation of Frederick II as an enlightened despot. In the 1930's he argued that Frederick constructed a true system, a *Rechtsstaat*, and gave it reality while exercising personal power. His system included foreign policy and reforms in education, economics, and law. In the 1955 article Hartung still described Frederick as the typical enlightened despot, but the Prussian ruler's "enlightenment" was more limited, and his place in the history of absolutism was more pronounced.

⁶ It is possible that Professor Adrienne D. Hytier of Vassar College, who is presently studying the personal relationships between the philosophes and the enlightened despots, will bring new information to bear on this problem.

relationship between them? These two problems help to explain why a growing number of studies either reflect or support Hartung's position by more or less emphatically denying that the philosophes had any appreciable influence on eighteenth-century monarchs.⁷

Some scholars, Hartung among them, have gone even further and have suggested that the Enlightenment and the practice of governing eighteenth-century states were by their nature contradictory. Hartung saw Frederick II as the typical representative of enlightened despotism and argued that for Frederick there was a "contradiction between enlightened theory and absolute practice [that] was caused for the most part by the requirements of power politics." François Olivier-Martin has examined the eighteenth-century French monarchy's political, administrative, religious, and economic policies and has concluded that there was "a radical opposition" between the traditional practices of the monarchy and the ideas of the Enlightenment. It is significant that both Hartung and Olivier-Martin were constitutional historians. Both considered enlightened ideas doctrinaire, idealistic, and unrealistic. Frederick, Hartung wrote, at times seemed to favor the spread of the Enlightenment, "but deep in his heart he was completely untouched by the joyful optimism [*frohen Optimismus*] of the Enlightenment, which hoped that the spread of knowledge and the fight against prejudice would lead to the moral progress of mankind." Olivier-Martin said that the French monarchy judged human nature pessimistically and therefore adopted authoritarian controls, while enlightened despotism was based on the idea of "la bonté naturelle de l'homme" and the notion that reason would reveal a natural order that enlightened men would support.⁸

These observations are clear cases of how specific interpretations of the nature of the Enlightenment affect conclusions about the relationship between the thought of the Enlightenment and the practice of governing.⁹ Some idea of how controversial the subject of enlightened despotism is can be seen in the fact that though Hartung and Olivier-Martin agreed about the "contradiction" or "opposition" of ideas and practice, they differed fundamentally in their definition of enlightened despotism. Yet their arguments,

⁷ See, e.g., Leo Gershoy, *From Despotism to Revolution, 1763-1789* (New York, 1944), 318-22; Charles Morazé, "Finance et despotisme: Essai sur les despotes éclairés," *Annales: Économies, sociétés, civilisations*, III (No. 3, 1948), 279-96; Georges Lefebvre, "Le despotisme éclairé," *Annales historiques de la Révolution française*, XXI (No. 114, 1949), 97-115; Roland Mousnier and Ernest Labrousse, *Le xviii^e siècle: L'époque des "Lumières"* (1715-1815) (Paris, 1959), 173.

⁸ Hartung, "Der aufgeklärte Absolutismus," 29; François Olivier-Martin, "Les pratiques traditionnelles de la royauté française et le despotisme éclairé," *BICHs*, V (No. 20, 1933), 713.

⁹ Many historians of ideas would not entirely accept either Hartung's or Olivier-Martin's characterizations of the Enlightenment. Peter Gay, *The Party of Humanity: Essays in the French Enlightenment* (New York, 1964), 262-90, argues that the philosophes' themes of "natural goodness" and "joyful optimism" are myths.

and others like them, have been so strong and persuasive that even those researchers who have courageously sought comparisons between thought and practice have carefully qualified their conclusions.¹⁰ Thus students of the eighteenth century no longer seem as optimistic about discovering the unity of enlightened despotism as Michel Lhéritier, who tried valiantly to summarize the diverse viewpoints of the papers presented during the International Committee's investigation. In his "Rapport général," which concluded the papers of the 1937 meeting, Lhéritier contended that "the essential unity of enlightened despotism, or at least the uniformity that one sometimes attributes to it," was no less susceptible to analysis than other great events of history.¹¹

Yet the problem of the relationship between the thought of the Enlightenment and the actions of eighteenth-century reforming monarchs continues to interest students of the period. Some investigators have argued that a new terminology is necessary. Perhaps "enlightened absolutism" would be a more helpful tool for synthesis than the term enlightened despotism.¹² There may be sound reasons for adopting new terms, and the phrase "enlightened government" is used in this study for two reasons. First, it is possible that too much emphasis has been placed upon the term "despotism," thus obscuring the character of the basic reforms that Enlightenment thinkers so fervently desired and espoused and too narrowly limiting the form of government through which they hoped to achieve their reform programs.¹³

¹⁰ Bruun (*Enlightened Despots*, 49) was careful to point out that "the most influential writings on [enlightened despotism] did not appear until after 1750, but before that date Frederick [II] had recognized many of the abuses they were later to attack and had anticipated the remedies they recommended for them." Bruun would not, indeed could not, go so far as to call Frederick "a Voltairian King." (Cf. Philippe Sagnac, *La fin de l'ancien régime et la Révolution américaine (1763-1789)* [Paris, 1952], 209.) Gagliardo (*Enlightened Despotism*, 81) concluded his survey of the reforming monarchs of the last decades of the eighteenth century with the following comment: "While the humanitarian sincerity and social benevolence of many of the leading monarchs and statesmen of this period can hardly be doubted, cold political and economic requirements of their states and their thrones had the ultimate voice in determining both the specific character of the reforms undertaken and the limits of their own reform goals."

¹¹ Michel Lhéritier, "Rapport général: Le despotisme éclairé, de Frédéric II à la Révolution française," *BICHs*, IX (No. 35, 1937), 223.

¹² Among the scholars who prefer the term "enlightened absolutism" are Luigi Bulferetti, *L'assolutismo illuminato in Italia (1700-1789)* (Milan, 1944); and Franco Valsecchi, *Le riforme dell'assolutismo illuminati negli stati italiani (1748-1789)* (Milan, 1955). Hartung ("Der aufgeklärte Absolutismus," 19) chose the term absolutism because "it conforms to the older European practice of distinguishing clearly between absolutism—a form of government unrestricted by class or parliamentary institutions, but voluntarily bound by laws and the rights of the subject—and despotism, with its unlimited tyranny. If we want to get a clear idea of the nature of enlightened absolutism, we should not deviate from the commonly accepted meaning of the word absolutism. . . ."

¹³ Use of the phrase "enlightened absolutism" may avoid the problems inherent in the word "despotism," but neither term adequately recognizes a growing body of literature suggesting that Enlightenment thinkers were most interested in government by law and that they courted rulers because, as practical observers of their age, they thought that only powerful princes could institute such a government. On the difficulties of generalizing about

Second, the term enlightened government was the term that Enlightenment thinkers preferred and most frequently used in their writings. It seems clear that the principal philosophes and their lieutenants were repelled by the word despotism, which they associated with tyranny.¹⁴

It is doubtful, however, whether historians can be persuaded to drop enlightened despotism from their vocabulary. Both more to the point and more helpful would be additional specialized studies that by new information and different approaches attempt to explore the subject further and to probe it more deeply. Recently a number of scholars have adopted a more indirect method of investigation. Instead of examining the influence of the *lumières* upon the rulers, they have sought to discover how enlightened ideas influenced the actions of reform-minded bureaucrats. Then they have asked whether ideas about reform were translated into the practice of governing.¹⁵ Through such an indirect approach this study examines French rule in Corsica after 1768 in an effort to discover if there was any confluence between the Enlightenment and the French monarchy at the end of the old regime. It may enhance our understanding of the varieties of enlightened despotism, if not its unity.

When the French monarchy began to govern Corsica the condition of the island was not at all like that of other French provinces. Centuries of Genoese misrule had led to a rebellion that blew hot and cold from its beginning in 1729 until French troops finally occupied and conquered Pasquale Paoli's rebel forces in 1768-1769. By that time the islanders' search for

the philosophes' partiality to enlightened despotism or enlightened absolutism as the best form of government, see Arthur M. Wilson, "Why Did the Political Theory of the Encyclopedists Not Prevail?" *French Historical Studies*, I (Spring 1960), 283-94, and "The Development and Scope of Diderot's Political Thought," *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, XXVII (1963), 1871-1900; Gay, *Party of Humanity*, 262-90, esp. 276; Merle L. Perkins, "Voltaire's Concept of International Order," *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, XXXVI (1965), Chap. v, "Enlightened Despots"; Theodore Besterman, "Voltaire, Absolute Monarchy, and the Enlightened Monarch," *ibid.*, XXXII (1965), 7-21; and Mario Einaudi, *The Physiocratic Doctrine of Judicial Control* (Cambridge, Mass., 1938).

¹⁴ The thesis that later writers were responsible for the label "enlightened despot" is argued effectively in Richard Koebner, "Despot and Despotism: Vicissitudes of a Political Term," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XIV (Nos. 3-4, 1951), 273-302; and Robert Derathé, "Les philosophes et le despotisme," in *Utopie et institutions au XVIII^e siècle: Le pragmatisme des lumières*, ed. Pierre Francastel (Paris, 1963), 57-75; see also Franco Venturi, "Despotismo orientale," *Rivista storica italiana*, LXXII (No. 1, 1960), 117-26.

¹⁵ See the pioneering study by Helen P. Liebel, *Enlightened Bureaucracy versus Enlightened Despotism in Baden, 1750-1792* (Philadelphia, 1965). Valerie Cromwell has described a growing controversy over the influence of Benthamism on Great Britain's government in "Interpretations of Nineteenth-Century Administration: An Analysis," *Victorian Studies*, IX (Mar. 1966), 245-55. An older study by Paul Ardascheff, *Les intendants de province sous Louis XVI*, tr. from the Russian by Louis Jousserandot (Paris, 1909), is suggestive of this indirect approach as applied to France. Hans Rosenberg, *Bureaucracy, Aristocracy and Autocracy: The Prussian Experience, 1660-1815* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), offers exciting insights and possibilities for further research on nearly all subjects dealing with the relationship between eighteenth-century bureaucrats and monarchs.

freedom from Genoese rule had cost them much. Forty years of rebellion, hostility toward anything Genoese, heated factional disputes, and the rise and fall of one form of government after another had destroyed, undermined, or corroded both Genoese and native Corsican traditions, institutions, and social structures. Corsica's economic potentials, moreover, remained undeveloped, and there was a severe economic regression, including possibly a serious decline in population.¹⁶ In short, when France took possession of the island there was little left upon which to build.

Yet building, or "regeneration" as contemporaries frequently called it, was precisely the task that faced the governments of Louis XV and Louis XVI. As a French officer involved in the conquest of Corsica noted, "nothing exists there, so to speak, and everything remains to be established."¹⁷ After the conquest, speculation about Corsica became "a vogue," and the French government was besieged by projects for the island's regeneration.¹⁸ Here was ground suitable for experimentation with new ideas and new institutions. Here was another laboratory for an age that built and sought laboratories on every hand, a fact recognized by Colonel Jacques-Antoine-Hippolyte Guibert, commander of the Corsican legion, in a letter written to the Duc de Choiseul on June 26, 1769. Corsica, Guibert wrote, "is a country to be created, and you know, Monsieur, that in politics it is easier to create than to refound. Here you would be able to try out some of the ideas of our *économistes*. . . ."¹⁹ One of the projects for Corsica's improvement was a memoir written in 1770 on the possibilities of developing the island's commerce. It began with a quotation from Fénelon's *Télémaque* (Book XVII): "It is necessary to change the taste and the customs of an entire nation. It is necessary to give to it some new laws. Who will be able to undertake this task if it is not a Philosopher King?"²⁰ The writer of this memoir probably assumed that his readers would see at once the significance of the quotation and its relevance to Corsica. Modern readers may

¹⁶ Nearly all eighteenth-century French writers concerned with the subject note a decline in Corsica's population during the eighteenth century. This view is opposed by Franco Borlandi, *Per la storia della popolazione della Corsica* (Milan, 1942), *passim*, esp. 96, 108, 115, 119–21. There is a wealth of manuscript material in various French archival depositories dealing explicitly with assessments of Corsica's economic potentials.

¹⁷ Louis-Charles-René, comte de Marbeuf, to Étienne-François, duc de Choiseul (Minister of Foreign Affairs and of War), Oct. 1, 1769, Archives Nationales [hereafter cited as AN], K 1226.6. In one way or another Marbeuf was connected with Corsica from 1764 until his death in 1786. A favorable appreciation of his work on the island is Marius Peyre, "Marbeuf et l'organisation économique de la Corse à la veille de la Révolution," *Revue des études napoléoniennes*, XXI (Nov.–Dec. 1923), 163–79.

¹⁸ "Mémoire," [1788,] AN, K 1225.6.

¹⁹ Archives du Ministère de la Guerre, *Mémoires historiques* [hereafter cited as AG, *Mém. hist.*], 1098.48.

²⁰ "Mémoire sur la commerce et les établissements qu'on peut faire dans l'isle de Corse," written by a certain M. Chaîne, who was on Corsica in 1756 and 1757, and sent to Choiseul in June 1770. (AN, Q¹ 291.) The same memoir, with a slightly different title, appeared in *Journal encyclopédique*, VII (Oct., Nov. 1770), 273–78, 438–45; cf. François de Salignac de la Mothe-Fénelon, *Les aventures de Télémaque*, ed. Aug. Dupouy (2 vols., Paris, n.d.), II, 95.

have to think harder to recall the kingdom of Salente described in Books X and XVII of *Télémaque*, a society whose strength lay in agriculture and free commerce, which waged war only to defend liberty, and where the king's freedom of action was limited by law. Book XVII also contained the observation that one of the most pernicious aspects of government is royal authority that is "unjust and too violent."²¹

What then would be the ideas and the institutions upon which the French monarchy would build? In what spirit would the French government undertake the task of regeneration, which was much more difficult than that of conquest? Would the ideas, institutions, and especially the spirit of the French monarchy be those of the Enlightenment, and if so through whom or what did Enlightenment ideas find their way into the council chambers of the French Kings? These are the questions that this investigation attempts to answer. The principal sources consulted concerning the thought that went into French efforts to regenerate Corsica are the numerous memoirs and the voluminous correspondence of the civil and military officials whose task it was to supply the information that the French government needed before it could practice the difficult art of governing. Sources for evaluating the governing of Corsica are the central government's instructions to the administrators and its decisions as applied on the island after 1768. As the ideas of the Enlightenment diffused downward from the great thinkers of the age, some changes inevitably occurred, and the practice of governing did not always live up to the high hopes and expectations of these third- or tenth-rate disseminators of enlightened ideals. Yet their thinking embodied the principal ideas of the *lumières*, and policies followed by Louis XV and Louis XVI in a variety of ways aimed at implementing the recommendations of their subordinate officials. These facts may not make the French monarchs enlightened despots, but they suggest that in a government considered one of the least enlightened there was some enlightenment. They suggest also that it was not the philosophes who carried enlightened thought to the foot of the French throne; instead, the vehicles through whom enlightened thought influenced the policies of the French government were the king's ministers and the bureaucrats in the administrative departments. They, and not the philosophes, were in a position to influence policies, partly because they were closer to the monarchy and partly because their enlightened ideas were tempered by their daily proximity to the actual fact of governing.²²

²¹ *Ibid.*, *passim*.

²² The three French officials who laid the foundations for building in Corsica were Noël Jourda, comte de Vaux, commander of French troops on the island in 1769-1770; Louis-Charles-René, comte de Marbeuf, Vaux's successor and commander from May 1770 until

On June 30, 1769, Noël Jourda, comte de Vaux, wrote a memoir on the civil administration of Corsica. Vaux was the commander of over forty battalions of French troops sent to Corsica in 1768–1769 to conquer the island. As a military officer he advocated a harsh, rigorous policy toward the Corsican rebels.²³ Yet when it came to the reconstruction that must follow the conquest, Vaux was both humane and perceptive. His memoir contained the observation that “everything [in Corsica] must be created, and this creation will take more than seven days.” For France to gain any advantage from Corsica, Vaux added, “its physical and moral constitution will have to be corrected. This can be expected only from time and from a wise and enlightened government.”²⁴

Vaux’s memoir mirrored the tone of scores of proposals and programs for the regeneration of Corsica that he and his fellow administrators sent to the central government. These bureaucrats realized that the task before them was gigantic; yet they were fundamentally optimistic about the possibility of accomplishing it successfully. The conquest of the island had just been achieved when its first intendant, Daniel-Marc-Antoine Chardon, wrote enthusiastically about the future. Corsica was suitable for anything, Chardon wrote to Choiseul, though it was still “in the cradle, and its infancy [would] surely be very long. But there [were] definite reasons to be hopeful about its adolescence if its natural resources could be developed fully.”²⁵ Such a task would require time and energy on the government’s part. Chardon believed it would take a full generation, and he placed his confidence not in the present inhabitants of the island but in their children.²⁶

Wise legislation by a patient, just, and accessible monarch was the key to regeneration, suggested the Comte de Marbeuf, who was second in command under Vaux and eventually became commander of the French forces that remained on Corsica after the conquest. He readily admitted that there

his death in 1786; and Daniel-Marc-Antoine Chardon, Corsica’s first intendant. In May 1771 Barthélemy de Colla de Pradine replaced Chardon as intendant. Claude-François Bertrand de Boucheporn was intendant from April 1775 until May 1785, when he was replaced by the last intendant before the Revolution, François-Nicolas de La Guillaumye. Pradine left little evidence of his work in Corsica, but Boucheporn, a close associate of A. R. J. Turgot, and La Guillaumye ran the intendance in the same enlightened spirit as Chardon. Information on these officials is scattered throughout Louis Villat, *La Corse de 1768 à 1789* (3 vols., Besançon, 1924–25); and the Archives Départementales [hereafter cited as AD], Corse, Ser. C, *Intendance*. Chardon deserves a more complete study than that of the Baron de Maricourt, “Un intendant de Corse sous Louis XV, Daniel-Marc-Antoine Chardon (1731–1805) et sa famille,” *Revue des questions historiques*, LXXVII (Apr. 1905), 497–542.

²³ “Proclamation du Général de Vaux,” 1769, Archives du Ministère de la Guerre, *Archives historiques* [hereafter cited as AG, *Arch. hist.*], A¹ 3655.47; see also Gustave Bagnenault de Puchesse, “La conquête de la Corse et le Maréchal de Vaux, 1769,” *Revue des questions historiques*, XXVIII (July 1880), 152–213.

²⁴ Vaux, “Mémoire sur la Corse, administration civile,” June 30, 1769, AN, K 1226.4.

²⁵ Chardon to Choiseul, Sept. 12, 1769, AD, Corse, Ser. C, 126.

²⁶ Chardon to Choiseul, Sept. 18, 1769, *ibid.*

were a variety of ways to go about this regeneration, and he recommended that laws and regulations different from those in France might be necessary.²⁷ In this Marbeuf reflected Montesquieu's viewpoint on law and legislation: wise legislation must be in harmony with the essential needs and character of a society, as well as with its natural surroundings.

Marbeuf found support for his gradualism and relativism among some of the highest officers of the crown. Clément-Charles-François de Laverdy, the controller general since 1763, offered to restructure the principal French penal laws "in order to adapt them to the Corsican environment and to the spirit of the nation." Choiseul wanted to retain all the Corsican administrative and financial practices, with the single exception that appeals from Corsican courts would be made to the parlement at Aix.²⁸ Accordingly, Choiseul directed Marbeuf and Chardon to leave things as they found them for the moment and to make only those changes that they considered absolutely necessary. Choiseul said that he did not intend to change totally "the forms of the government that were natural to the inhabitants of this island," and like Marbeuf he thought that the government's principles should be "adapted to time, circumstances, and the particular character" of the Corsican people. In another letter Choiseul made one of the strongest statements against treating Corsica like other French provinces. The Corsicans, he observed, should be made to realize that what was good for a country like France, "already civilized and disciplined," was not only bad but even dangerous for a simple country like Corsica. Some of the first laws drawn up for Corsica by the Department of Finances were, unfortunately, "based on some very good principles," but were not "sufficiently combined with the spirit, character, customs, laws, and specific interest of Corsica." This observation, Choiseul warned Marbeuf, "should be only between you and me."²⁹

Marbeuf repeatedly urged that the government established in Corsica should move slowly because if it insisted upon exercising all of its rights at once the Corsicans would only become disgusted with their new masters. The King should attach his new subjects to himself and to France more closely by making them see the advantages that union could offer them. He should retain certain traditional Corsican offices related to local government matters and use Corsicans in ecclesiastical and judicial positions of merit

²⁷ Marbeuf to Choiseul, June 25, 1768, AG, *Arch. hist.*, A¹ 3647.92.

²⁸ Jean de Lenchères, aide-de-camp and brigadier de cavalerie, "Mémoire sur la Corse, principaux faits des campagnes de 1768 et 1769, établissements militaires et civiles, etc.," AG, *Mém. hist.*, 248¹, fols. 2-3. This memoir is eighty-eight folios in length; it dates from 1771 or 1772 and has marginal notes dealing with events to 1776.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, fol. 5; Choiseul to Marbeuf, June 3, 1770, AG, *Arch. hist.*, A¹ 3661.15; "Plan du Travail de la Consulte de 1770," *ibid.*, 3666.1; Choiseul to the King's commissioners, June 3, 1770, AD, Corse, Ser. C, 549; Choiseul to Marbeuf, June 26, 1770, AG, *Arch. hist.*, A¹ 3661.40; Choiseul to Marbeuf, July 9, 1770, *ibid.*, 3661.48.

and responsibility. Marbeuf also recommended that decisions affecting the Corsicans be taken before a general assembly representing the estates.³⁰ Vaux supported this last recommendation and urged the calling of annual assemblies, whose duties would, of course, be consultative, not legislative. Yet Vaux thought that the Corsican assembly should be allowed to consider all matters relating to the administration of the island, especially the question of granting, assessing, and collecting subsidies.³¹

On the question of a Corsican general assembly Marbeuf and Vaux again found support among high government officials. In his "Plan du Travail de la Consulte de 1770," Choiseul listed twenty-two subjects to be discussed in the first Corsican assembly, some of which could profitably be discussed at length. He directed his subordinate officials to give the first assembly all the time that it needed to discuss matters proposed to it; they should not dismiss the assembly until it requested its own dissolution. It was absolutely necessary, Choiseul wrote, "to convince the Nation of its true interests, and the best manner of convincing it of them is that of weighing and discussing those interests with the Nation."³² In another letter Choiseul said that he agreed perfectly with Chardon, who had advised the government that only by treating all matters "with cool heads" and by listening patiently could the French achieve the maturity that would assure them success in governing Corsica.³³

Recommendations for gradualism in Corsica reinforced a long-term French policy of treating conquered provinces in special ways. Georges Livet has described the application of this policy to Alsace under Louis XIV and has carefully analyzed the compromises that absolutism was willing to make for reasons of security. Franklin L. Ford has done the same for the strategically located city of Strasbourg.³⁴ Certainly Corsica was in some ways similar to other provinces that France had conquered. It was as important for French security in the Mediterranean as Alsace and Strasbourg were for the security of France's eastern borders. The exigencies of war and international politics therefore required the monarchy to take measures on the island that would forestall any recurrence of the rebellion that had made Corsica a political vacuum and an enticement for intervention by the Great

³⁰ Marbeuf, "Mémoire," June 28, 1768, *ibid.*, 3647.100; *id.*, "Mémoire sur la Corse," 1768, AG, *Mém. hist.*, 1098.36; *id.*, "Mémoire sur la Corse," Oct. 1, 1769, AN, K 1226.6.

³¹ Vaux, "Mémoire sur la Corse"; Chardon to Choiseul, June 19, 1769, AG, *Arch. hist.*, A¹ 3653.159; Choiseul to Marbeuf, Sept. 12, 1770, *ibid.*, 3661.79.

³² "Plan du Travail de la Consulte de 1770"; Choiseul to Marbeuf, Sept. 12, 1770, AG, *Arch. hist.*, A¹ 3661.79.

³³ Choiseul to Marbeuf, Sept. 9, 1770, AD, Corse, Ser. C, 549.

³⁴ Georges Livet, *L'intendance d'Alsace sous Louis XIV, 1648-1715* (Paris, 1956); Franklin L. Ford, *Strasbourg in Transition, 1648-1789* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958); see also M. S. Anderson, *Europe in the Eighteenth Century, 1713-1783* (New York, 1961), 25-27.

Powers since the 1730's. Yet in other ways Corsica's case was different. The crucial question was building from nothing, as both Marbeuf and Vaux had put it. Their recommendations for the regeneration of the island reflected this difference, as well as differences in both the spirit and the particular policies that they applied to Corsica. Their proposals were experimental in spirit,³⁵ and the frequently stated notion that differences among societies should be reflected in different laws went beyond the policy of tolerating differences simply to avoid a recurrence of rebellion. Proposals for establishing institutions that would allow the Corsicans some voice, however limited, in the affairs of their island stand, moreover, in marked contrast to what happened in Alsace and Strasbourg. In Alsace some intermediary bodies were allowed to exist between the monarchy and the people, but the traditional provincial Estates gradually ceased to meet during Louis XIV's reign. In the conquered city of Strasbourg the citizens lost their voice, and the traditional governmental institutions became either ineffective or defunct.³⁶ Additional differences appear in recommendations concerning Corsican social structure, judicial forms, and financial and commercial affairs.

A set of proposals urged preliminary steps toward re-establishing a sound social structure. These steps included limiting the number of ecclesiastics and religious establishments. Not only did the crown's servants in Corsica consider the clergy nonproductive individuals, but they pointed out that in Corsica the clergy "inspired the people with ideas contrary to obedience and to their true interest." Vaux noted that in every village there were some clergymen who resembled bandits more than they did ministers of religion. He advised limiting the number of clergymen by setting age limits on their vows and by making them study theology.³⁷ This anticlericalism was pragmatic, not dogmatic. Ecclesiastics were necessary in Corsica because they were leaders and were better educated than most of the population, and because religion helped to develop good morals. People disagree about the form of their religious cult, Marbeuf observed, but no government can exist if the religion that it follows is not respected. Religion was "la partie première" and had a great influence on all of society. Thus great care and attention should be given to maintain religion and to make the clergy "enlightened examples of right conduct." As matters stood in 1768, however,

³⁵ Writing about the French experience in governing Strasbourg, Ford said (*Strasbourg in Transition*, 88) that "for the most part, after only a few experiments in innovation, the royal government held to the policy on which it had settled in the late 1660's."

³⁶ Livet, *Intendance d'Alsace*, 480-81, 904, 909; Ford, *Strasbourg in Transition*, 88-90. The history of Strasbourg's government in general "is a history not so much of external crumbling as of a gradual, relentless, hollowing out, until by the end of the eighteenth century one beholds scarcely more than the shell of a once living organism." (*Ibid.*, 90.)

³⁷ Vaux, "Mémoire sur la Corse."

there were too many monks and too many examples of "resolute libertinism."³⁸ Thus both the number of clergymen and their power should be limited.

Some years after the conquest the King vetoed two requests made by Corsican ecclesiastics, one of which would have allowed clergy of the *pièves* (territorial divisions similar to parishes but larger) to stand for election as deputies to provincial assemblies. The other request would have permitted ecclesiastical nobles to go to the assemblies of the *pièves* as members of the noblesse and compete with secular nobles for deputation to the provincial assemblies and the General Assembly of the Estates. The commissioners explained that these requests would give the clergy too much influence in Corsica; their influence actually should be proportional to their "interest," which meant that the clergy, who possessed little or no landed property, should have only one-tenth of the number of deputies. The King had given them one-third of the total representation because the Estates profited from their *lumières*, but to let the clergy compete with the nobility for seats in the assemblies would "break the equilibrium that His Majesty intended to establish among the three orders" and would give the clergy a preponderance and advantage "contrary to the nature of affairs of the municipal and communal administration."³⁹

The King was further urged to create an order of nobility to maintain an equilibrium in Corsican society. Those who put forward this proposal recognized that it would be difficult because few people in Corsica held titles of nobility, and of those who did few could show sufficient proof that their titles were valid. But an order of nobility was necessary, "at least to balance the other two orders." Louis XV would therefore find it advantageous to issue some titles of nobility.⁴⁰ This proposal might be interpreted as diametrically opposed to the spirit of the Enlightenment. Yet neither the philosophes nor the bourgeoisie as a whole advocated major alterations in the social order, and a society without a nobility would have been decidedly different, if not inconceivable, to most Frenchmen of the old regime.⁴¹ Nor

³⁸ Marbeuf, "Mémoire," June 28, 1768, AG, *Arch. hist.*, A¹ 3647.100. On the importance and power of the clergy in Corsican society, see S.-B. Casanova, *Histoire de l'église corse* (2 vols., Ajaccio, 1931).

³⁹ *Procès-verbal de l'Assemblée générale des États de Corse convoquée à Bastia le 11 mai 1777*, ed. Antoine de Morati (Bastia, 1898), 78-80. The *procès-verbal* for all the sessions of the Corsican estates have been printed. Those for 1770, 1772, 1773, 1775, and 1777 were edited by Morati and printed at Bastia in 1896, 1897, and 1898. The Abbé Lucien Letteron edited those for 1779 (1902), 1781 (1904), and 1785 (1906), which were also printed at Bastia.

⁴⁰ Vaux, "Mémoire sur la Corse." A memoir on Corsica that was read to the council on October 12, 1770 (AN, K 1225.4), stated explicitly that the Corsican nobility was created to balance the great influence of the Corsican clergy.

⁴¹ The fact that the French bourgeoisie generally accepted "the status hierarchy with which it was confronted" has been amply demonstrated in Elinor G. Barber's provocative

does the proposal to create a Corsican nobility appear to be an aspect of "feudal reaction." To be sure, the higher French officials in Corsica were members of the noblesse, but they were also members of the King's bureaucracy. It would be interesting to know whether these divided loyalties created a dilemma for French administrators in an age when, as H. B. Hill phrased it, an expanding centralized bureaucracy "ran afoul of the equally centralized privileges of the aristocracy."⁴²

In any case, the key point in the proposal to create a Corsican nobility is the question of privilege, which in one way or another was the chief concern of the philosophes, the bourgeoisie, and the noblesse. None of the King's administrators proposed to give inordinate power to the Corsican nobility, and in all matters they were vitally concerned with limiting privileges of various kinds, especially remunerative privileges. Proposals that could be classified as representing a "feudal reaction" in prerevolutionary Corsica do exist, but they were not advanced by French bureaucrats on the island.⁴³ Finally, it is worth noting again that the French officials were practical men, and there was something intensely realistic about establishing a Corsican nobility. Not only did they believe that equilibrium was necessary in a well-ordered society, but they knew that the islanders needed leaders, preferably men attached to France, and that one of the Corsicans' chief complaints was that the Genoese had systematically undermined the position of

study, *The Bourgeoisie in 18th Century France* (Princeton, N. J., 1967), 12 *et passim*. Though the relatively conservative social thought of the philosophes deserves further attention, there are important observations on their attitudes toward the nobility in Louis de Jaucourt's article on "Nobility" in the *Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers, par une société de gens de lettres*, ed. Denis Diderot (17 vols., Paris, 1751-65), XI, 166-71; Paul Hazard, *European Thought in the Eighteenth Century: From Montesquieu to Lessing*, tr. J. Lewis May (Cleveland, 1963), 172-88; and R. R. Palmer, *The Age of the Democratic Revolution: A Political History of Europe and America, 1760-1800* (2 vols., Princeton, N. J., 1959-64), I, Chap. III. "The bourgeois Voltaire," Palmer wrote (p. 79), "had no objection to the nobility."

⁴² H. B. Hill, "French Constitutionalism: Old Regime and Revolutionary," *Journal of Modern History*, XXI (No. 3, 1949), 224. Hill placed the responsibility for the clash between bureaucracy and privilege on Louis XIV, though he said that "further research is imperative before the origin of this phenomenon can be definitively traced. . . ." The standard work on the "feudal reaction" is Franklin L. Ford, *Robe and Sword: The Regrouping of the French Aristocracy after Louis XIV* (New York, 1953), which can now be supplemented with Jean Egret, *La pré-révolution française, 1787-1788* (Paris, 1962).

⁴³ One thoroughly "feudal" proposal is an anonymous memoir written before cession of the island to France ("Essai sur l'isle de Corse, AN, K 1225.13), in which the author said that the only way to submit Corsica, and its internal problems, and increase its revenue was the "infeudation" of its different *pièves*, villages, and ponds. In this way, he continued, the sovereign "will establish a true despotism over his subjects." The Corsican nobility made similar feudal requests in their *cahier* of May 18, 1789, which is printed in Beatrice Fry Hyslop, *A Guide to the General Cahiers of 1789, with Texts of the Unedited Cahiers* (New York, 1936), 252-66. Suggestions made by the Corsican Matteo Buttafuoco indicate that he sought greater power for the Corsican nobility than the French administrators; yet he argued that the only lasting submission would derive from a government founded on "equality and the laws." See his memoir and letters in AN, K 1226.5, 1226.29, and 1226.29 ter.

the nobility within Corsican society. Creation of a Corsican nobility promised to supply leaders who owed their elevation to France and, at the same time, to remove one of the Corsicans' long-standing grievances.

A concerted program of judicial reform was one of the most urgent needs in Corsica. Throughout the eighteenth century problems between Genoa and Corsica stemmed largely from the inability of the islanders to secure prompt and equal justice from their Genoese masters. Therefore, great care was needed in establishing an equitable judicial system. The King should move slowly in this matter, Marbeuf again recommended, until experience with the customs and the laws of the country gave some information about the best form of judicial system to establish. For the moment he favored recognizing the jurisdiction of Corsican magistrates under the supervision of the intendant. After both French and Corsican magistrates had studied the laws of the country, they could draw up a legislative plan, and the King could take back his authority. Laws relating to criminal matters should have a fixed and regular form and should be followed faithfully.⁴⁴

Greater equality before the law also meant greater equality before the tax collector. The system recommended to the King was a simple and uniform tax that would fall upon all individuals in proportion to their wealth. There were different ideas, however, on what kind of tax would best achieve this objective. Vaux's position was hardly innovative. He believed that the government would have to be content with a *capitation* on personal property, landed property, and herds of animals. Perhaps a "royal tenth" on all products of the land and herds could be combined with a *capitation* on the merchants and *rentiers*. Vaux believed that imposition of the *taille* was impossible because there was so much confusion about ownership of landed property and that the hearth tax to which the Corsicans were accustomed was the most unjust form of taxation because the poor paid as much as the wealthy.⁴⁵ Chardon, however, suggested another form of taxation, which reveals him as a disciple of the physiocrats. He said that only a tax imposed on the net product (*produit net*) of the land was admissible; of all possible forms of taxation, it was the only tax that did not "bear the character of destruction." An anonymous writer made a similar recommendation in nearly identical terms. He said that the only just form of taxation was the single tax on the land (*l'impôt unique et territorial*), which was especially advantageous because its product would increase with the riches and the happiness of the state. Chardon proposed, and Choiseul approved, that the

⁴⁴ Choiseul's letter to Marbeuf, July 18, 1768, AG, *Arch. hist.*, A¹ 3660.36, contains a summary of Marbeuf's long memoir on justice.

⁴⁵ Vaux, "Mémoire sur la Corse."

government undertake a *terrier* and a *cadastre*; these, he said, are the only means of assessing "with equality" any imposition.⁴⁶

Finally, two of the principal bureaucrats in Corsica emphatically recommended that freedom of commerce be established on the island. Even before the treaty ceding Corsica to France was signed, Marbeuf advocated establishment of a free port on the island and complete freedom in commercial affairs. He noted that "the moneyed party" in Corsica was not large, but freedom of commerce would establish a greater affluence and would win support for France among the inhabitants. Chardon frequently urged the government to free Corsican commerce from restrictions, and in one letter he stated that "all exclusive privilege is destructive in essence and contrary to the public good." An anonymous writer, whose detailed knowledge of the island suggests that he served in some official capacity, forcefully argued that "full and entire liberty" of commerce should prevail, including the renunciation of all forms of indirect taxation.⁴⁷ It is interesting that Choiseul, who was already criticized for the cost of conquering Corsica, agreed substantially with his subordinate officials. He advised Chardon to write to the controller general and to point out the extremely dangerous consequences that would result from levying any duties on goods going to the island. The Corsicans would, of course, have to realize that France could not forever bear the burdens of supporting Corsica, and sometime taxes, preferably "some twentieths," would have to be levied, but that would happen "when it can be done with equality and without partiality." For the

⁴⁶ Chardon to Choiseul, Sept. 18, 1769, AD, Corse, Ser. C, 126; [Anonymous,] "Mémoire sur la Corse," [1770,] AN, K 1226.9; Lenchères, "Mémoire," fols. 49-52. Though the word *terrier* usually referred to the manor roll in which seignorial rights were recorded, it also had a broader meaning, as can be seen by the *terrier* undertaken in Corsica. A *plan terrier* for the island was authorized in 1770 (*Code Corse, ou Recueil des Édits, Déclarations, Lettres Patentes, Arrêts et Règlements, publiés dans l'Isle de Corse depuis sa soumission à l'obéissance du Roi* [10 vols., Paris, 1778-90], II, 45-63, 259-67) for the purpose of gathering information about population, agriculture, and commerce. Work on the *terrier* dragged on until the Revolution, and even then it was not completed. The seventeen volumes and thirty-seven maps of Corsica's *plan terrier*, now located in the Departmental Archives at Ajaccio, contain, nonetheless, a massive amount of information about the island, including comments on the political loyalties of some of the King's new subjects. (See the pamphlet by Louis Campi, *Le plan terrier de l'île de Corse, son histoire et ses vicissitudes* [Ajaccio, 1901], and the more thorough study by Antoine Albitreccia, *Le plan terrier de la Corse au XVIII^e siècle* [Paris, 1952].) *Cadastre* meant "land register" or the collection of documents that defined the landed property in each commune and served as the basis for the land tax. Lhéritier ("Rapport général," 225) suggested the need for further study of the *cadastres*, which "seem to have interested all the enlightened despots." Turgot was interested in *cadastres* for Limoges and France in order to distribute the tax burden more equitably. (See Douglas Dakin, *Turgot and the Ancien Régime in France* [London, 1939], 54-56, 299-300.)

⁴⁷ Marbeuf to Choiseul, June 12, 1767, AG, *Arch. hist.*, A¹ 3644.50; Chardon to Choiseul, Feb. 5, 1769, *ibid.*, 3653, fol. 108; Chardon, "Ville de Bonifacio," Sept. 28, 1769, AN, K 1226.23; [Anonymous,] "Mémoire sur la Corse," [1770,] *ibid.*, 1226.9. There is a clerical abstract of this anonymous memoir (*ibid.*, Q¹ 291).

moment "liberty and encouragement" of commerce were the real sources of abundance.⁴⁸

Although French officials did not call their King "the first servant of the state," their advice and recommendations make it clear that they conceived of him in precisely that guise. They saw Louis XV as a paternalistic and humanitarian ruler, whose chief duty as Corsica's monarch lay in doing positive good for his new subjects. And they believed that he could only accomplish this task by consulting with the Corsicans about their needs and interests. At the same time, the monarchy was to be absolute. Shortly after the conquest the government had occasion to emphasize this point. When the *Conseil Supérieur*, established in Corsica as a court of justice, threatened royal absolutism by aspiring to greater power, the King let it be known through his minister that he would tolerate no opposition to his will. "The King will not permit the authority that he has confided in you to be damaged in the slightest respect," Choiseul assured the intendant. He noted that the Corsican Assembly had been established for pragmatic reasons, and not as a check upon the royal will. Although he did not think that anyone would suspect him of wanting to teach the Corsicans how to remonstrate against the King's decisions, he realized that French laws could not be applied to Corsica and that French administrators would not adequately understand Corsican customs and laws. For these reasons the King had agreed to consult with the Corsican people. They should be informed that everything they did in their assemblies would "be carried to the foot of the Throne and [would] be received there according to its merits."⁴⁹

These proposals and recommendations reveal certain basic characteristics about the plans for Corsica's regeneration. The principal bureaucratic administrators in Corsica after 1768 were optimistic and utilitarian about the task of creating a new and wholly different society. They were imbued with a practical anticlericalism and saw the nobility as a balancing factor in society, not as the dominant force. Finally, they were concerned with questions of equality and liberty. They recommended a concerted program of judicial reform that would make the law simple, direct, and equal in application, and they favored both greater equality of taxation and liberty of commerce. These basic characteristics constitute a not too inaccurate summary of the spirit and reform programs of the Enlightenment's greatest exponents.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Choiseul to Chardon, Dec. 31, 1768, AG, *Arch. hist.*, A¹ 3646.138; Choiseul to Marbeuf, Sept. 8, 1770, *ibid.*, 3661.100; Choiseul to the King's commissioners, July 9, 1770, AD, Corse, Ser. C, 549; Choiseul's letters in AG, *Arch. hist.*, A¹ 3651.63, 3651.64, 3651.65.

⁴⁹ Choiseul to Chardon, Jan. 28, 1769, *ibid.*, 3651.32; Choiseul to Marbeuf, June 26, 1770, *ibid.*, 3661.40.

⁵⁰ Cf. the summaries of the principal ideals of the philosophes in Daniel Mornet, *French Thought in the Eighteenth Century*, tr. Lawrence M. Levin (New York, 1929), 181; and in Lefebvre, "Despotisme éclairé," 101.

The administrators did not, of course, cite the philosophes and physiocrats as the source of their ideas. Yet it is clear that they were steeped in Enlightenment ideas. Like the philosophes they were reformers, not revolutionists, and they were chiefly concerned with eliminating abuses.⁵¹ What was missing from the memoirs that they sent to Paris, Versailles, or Fontainebleau was the notion that there were certain natural laws applicable to all time and to all peoples. This omission suggests that the French bureaucrats were cultural relativists and were even more pragmatic and utilitarian than the great thinkers of the age.⁵²

Frenchmen responsible to the monarchy for Corsican affairs somehow had to translate their thought into practice; indeed, such was their vocation. But precisely how successful they were in influencing the policies of their government is debatable. As might be expected, nationalist aspirations and inclinations have entered into historians' discussion of this question. French acquisition of Corsica meant the loss of freedom and independence for the Corsicans and the loss of Corsica for Italy. Partly for these reasons Corsican and Italian nationalists have tended to judge harshly French acquisition and government of the island.⁵³ A more serious and sophisticated argument is that of Olivier-Martin, who suggested,⁵⁴ as we have seen, that the traditions of the French monarchy were fundamentally opposed to the Enlightenment. This constitutionalist position emphasizes that there is continuity as well as change in the gardens that historians cultivate, and therefore it deserves serious consideration. In various proposals for Corsica's regeneration, questions of tradition and precedent were raised: what had been done in Brittany, or Languedoc, or Provence, or Minorca? In discussing the collection of the King's revenues in Corsica, for example, the government consulted two farmers-general, one of whom proposed a *ferme générale* for Corsica and observed that this had been done in newly conquered countries, notably

⁵¹ The same can be said for a significant number of French officials during Louis XVI's reign. (See Ardascheff, *Intendants de province sous Louis XVI*, esp. Chap. III.)

⁵² Though the philosophes lost interest in Corsica after it was conquered by France, prior to that time they were concerned with the island's affairs. Their interest, and Rousseau's also, was basically pragmatic and realistic, as I have suggested in a paper on "The Development of Enlightenment Interest in Eighteenth-Century Corsica," *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, LXIV (1968), 165-85. Peter Gay has lately been documenting in considerable depth the fallacy of the notion that the philosophes were impractical idealists or rationalists. (See esp. his *Party of Humanity*, 262-90, and *Voltaire's Politics: The Poet as Realist* [New York, 1965]. The latter study also has much to say about Voltaire's "relativism," a subject that would repay greater study for the Enlightenment as a whole.)

⁵³ The historiography of French Corsica is a complex subject reflecting various viewpoints of Italian, French, and Corsican nationalists. By far the best study of Corsica under the government of the old regime is Villat, *Corse de 1768 à 1789*, the third volume of which is a bibliographical study. More recent writing on the subject is listed in Carmine Starace, *Bibliografia della Corsica* (Isola del Liri, 1943).

⁵⁴ Olivier-Martin, "Pratiques traditionnelles," 713.

those defeated during the War of the Austrian Succession. His project was not approved, however, because "the Minister [of Finance] was afraid (these are his words) to torment with financial exactions a country that the King did not want to treat as a conquered country."⁵⁵ French bureaucrats and monarchs were cognizant of traditions and precedents, but they were not bound by them.

Reinforcing this judgment is the abundant evidence suggesting that the concrete policies followed in French Corsica prior to the Revolution were for the most part those proposed by pragmatic and realistic administrators and sponsored by monarchs who sincerely wanted to be both absolute and enlightened. There was more than a hint of this attitude in Louis XV's *lettres patentes* of August 5, 1768, which incorporated Corsica into the kingdom of France. The King said that he had willingly taken upon himself the task of governing Corsica because he intended to exercise his power "for the good of the peoples of this island, our new subjects." Then he added: "With the same sentiments of our fatherly heart that we have for our other subjects, we will look after the prosperity, the glory and the happiness of our dear Corsican people in general and of each individual in particular." Evidence from sources other than official documents gives credence to Louis XV's words. He did not want to treat Corsica as a conquered country; he wanted, instead, to win the hearts of the inhabitants by kindness and by the mildness of his justice and government.⁵⁶ The same can be said of Louis XVI. In his description of Louis XVI's tax system, the controller general, Jacques Necker, stated that the King did not seek from Corsica any increase in revenue, but only "the greatest good" of his Corsican subjects. And in 1775 the intendant Claude-François Bertrand de Boucheporn addressed the representatives of the Corsican people with these words:

Nothing is more suitable than this free communication of ideas between the sovereign via the channel of his commissioners and the nation via that of its representatives. [Louis XVI] is a tender father who could do everything that is necessary for his children, [but] who is pleased to act in concert with them when they work for good objectives, and who will use his entire authority to lead them back to the good when they stray from it.⁵⁷

It is easy to dismiss these statements of intention as insincere or platitudinous; it is not as easy to dismiss the French Kings' actions. Louis XV

⁵⁵ Lenchères, "Mémoire," fol. 4.

⁵⁶ AG, *Arch. hist.*, A¹ 3647.139; *Code Corse*, I, 128-30; "Édit du Roi concernant l'administration de la justice en Corse," June 1768, *ibid.*, 1-11; Lenchères, "Mémoire," fol. 4; François-René-Jean Pommereul, *Histoire de l'isle de Corse* (2 vols., Bern, 1779), II, 218.

⁵⁷ Jacques Necker, *L'administration des finances* (3 vols., Paris, 1784), I, 310; "Discours prononcée par Monsieur de Boucheporn à l'ouverture des États de Corse à Bastia, le 25 may 1775," Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, *Mémoires et Documents, France* [here-

and Louis XVI did nearly everything in Corsica that their fellow monarchs who have acquired the title "enlightened despots" did in other parts of Europe. They built roads, bridges, and canals, drained swamps, and sponsored colonization efforts. They established colleges, though to the Corsicans' great grief they failed to establish a university. They also subsidized individuals who planted trees and developed new industries and gave tax exemptions to those who agreed to drain marshes. In all these activities the French monarchy showed great vigor and actively promoted both the wealth and the welfare of its new subjects.⁵⁸ Most often the initiative for these projects came from the administrators, first from Vaux, Marbeuf, and Chardon, and then from Marbeuf and from Chardon's successors in the intendance, especially Boucheporn. Even when the initiative for projects came from the central government,⁵⁹ the bureaucrats on the island did the actual work, discussing the value of projects and new legislation, recommending actions to be taken, watching over the King's interests and enforcing his will, and attending to the welfare of his subjects. The administrators, in effect, led the French monarchy in governing Corsica. It was fortunate for Corsica that they did because they led the monarchy with enlightened principles, and the monarchy followed with enlightened policies.

Still, not all French policies reflected the spirit of the Enlightenment. Major criticism of French rule in Corsica has focused on the swarm of incompetent minor officials who invaded the island and the slowness with which policies were implemented. These two complaints were legitimate: it seems clear that Corsica was subjected to a great variety of minor French officials;⁶⁰ and, to cite just one example of French tardiness in implementing policies, the request for uniform weights and measures that was made in 1770 was reiterated in 1781.⁶¹ Notably unenlightened, at least in appearance,

after cited as AE, MD, *France*], 1540, fols. 47-58; "Fragment d'une copie des instructions du Roi pour ses commissaires en Corse," Apr. 25, 1777, AN, K 1227.4.

⁵⁸ Carton upon carton of manuscripts in various archival depositories in France and Corsica tell the story of these reforms. AD, Corse, contains information on commerce in Ser. C, 38, 43, 45-46, 62; on agriculture, *ibid.*, 28, 30-31, 33, 62, 126; and on industries, *ibid.*, 30-32, 37-39, 41, 44, 47, 126. Information on colonization and land concessions is in AN, Q¹ 295, 298¹. Extensive information on exploitation of forest products is in Ser. B¹, B², and B³ of the Archives du Ministère de la Marine (AN). On the last subject, see also Paul Walden Bamford, *Forests and French Sea Power, 1660-1789* (Toronto, 1956), 107-108, 129.

⁵⁹ Various French controllers general took the initiative concerning some projects for Corsica. Terray tried to have some mills constructed. (AD, Corse, Ser. C, 30.) Turgot pushed projects for draining marshes. (*Ibid.*, 65.) Necker was interested in the cultivation of rice and tobacco on the island. (*Ibid.*, 31; see also Villat, *Corse de 1768 à 1789*, *passim*.)

⁶⁰ Complaints about inferior personnel sent to Corsica are found in AN, K 1227.10, 1227.10 bis; S.-B. Casanova, *La Corse et les États Généraux de 1789* (Ajaccio, 1931), 35; and "Mémoires historiques sur la Corse par un officier du régiment de Picardie, 1774-1777," ed. Philippe de Caraffa, *Bulletin de la Société des Sciences historiques et naturelles de la Corse* (Apr., May, June 1889), *passim*.

⁶¹ *Procès-verbal de l'Assemblée générale des États de Corse tenue à Bastia du 15 au 17*

were laws related to the use of forced labor (*corvées*). According to ordinances of September 6, 1768, and March 3, 1770, Corsicans were required to report when ordered, with their horses and mules if they had any, for work on the royal roads. Also unenlightened in appearance were attitudes that French administrators expressed toward censorship. In 1770 the Corsican bishops asked the government to ban "pernicious books" that were contrary to religion and good morals. The King's commissioners replied that precautions already being taken to examine books sent to Corsica would be redoubled.⁶² But decisions related to *corvées* and censorship were not as unenlightened as they may appear. The islanders were not subject to seignorial *corvées*, and they were given a choice of *corvées* or money payments for maintaining the royal roads. They chose *corvées* because there was not sufficient specie on the island for payments of money.⁶³ That censorship was not effectively enforced is indicated by the fact that in 1781 the Corsican clergy reiterated its request for prohibition of books containing "pernicious maxims" that corrupted morals and weakened the true religion.⁶⁴

These apparently unenlightened policies and attitudes, adopted for what seemed good practical reasons, do not seriously affect the general conclusion: French rule in Corsica accorded with enlightened ideals recommended to the crown by its servants. We have seen several major areas in which French administrators proposed enlightened policies. We may now examine the implementation of their proposals and recommendations more closely, with particular attention to the judicial system established in Corsica, the relationship between the French Kings and the General Assembly of the Corsican Estates, the economic policies that the government applied in the island, and the ways in which the monarchy dealt with the question of privilege in Corsican society.

Though the initiative for the judicial system came from the controller general, Laverdy, in general it followed the recommendations made by subordinate officials. The edict concerning justice in Corsica (June 1768) formed a *Conseil Supérieur* that acted as a court of appeals, nine benches of Royal Jurisdiction, later expanded to eleven, and two benches of Constabulary for criminal justice. Local magistrates in the *pièves* judged minor civil cases.

septembre 1770, ed. Morati, 66-67; *Procès-verbal de l'Assemblée générale des États de Corse convoquée à Bastia le 1^{er} juin 1781*, ed. Letteron, 271.

⁶² "Ordonnance concernant les corvées," Sept. 6, 1768, *Code Corse*, I, 140-43; "Ordonnance de l'intendant portant fixation des journées des bêtes de charge," Mar. 3, 1770, *ibid.*, II, 36-38; *Procès-Verbal*, 1770, ed. Morati, 92.

⁶³ Casanova, *Corse et les États Généraux*, 54; *Procès-verbal de l'Assemblée générale des États de Corse tenue à Bastia le 1 mai 1772 et jours suivants*, ed. Morati, 82-83.

⁶⁴ *Procès-verbal*, 1781, ed. Letteron, 271; see also Villat, *Corse de 1768 à 1789*, II, 70, for comments on the ineffectiveness of censorship in Corsica.

This system was similar to René Charles de Maupeou's later judicial reforms in France, and like Maupeou's reforms its purpose was to establish the courts near the people and to dispense justice quickly and at limited cost. In Corsica judicial offices were not sold, and justice was free.⁶⁵

Louis XV started and his successor continued the policy of taking the Corsican people into a limited partnership with the monarchy. They recognized Corsica as a *pays d'état* and established a hierarchy of representative bodies that began at the level of the *piève*, continued at the provincial level, and was capped by a General Assembly of the Estates; the government later added municipal assemblies to this administrative structure.⁶⁶ This action followed the recommendations of French officials, who pointed out that wise and enlightened government would have to recognize that Corsican needs, traditions, and customs differed from those on the Continent and that an enlightened legislator could learn about these differences only by consulting with his subjects. At first the clergy were overrepresented in the assemblies, but votes were taken by head, not order, and a plurality of voices carried an issue; after 1772 the orders were equal in representation. The intendant Boucheporn had the most advanced ideas about representation of all the French officials on the island. He believed that the number of deputies representing the clergy and nobility should be proportionate to their numbers within the Corsican population. Thus he advised that in the municipal assembly of Ajaccio there should be twenty-one members representing the Third Estate, six representing the nobility, and three representing the clergy. Boucheporn's ideas on representation were revolutionary, not reformist, and they were not approved.⁶⁷

The Corsican Estates met only eight times from 1770 to 1785.⁶⁸ At each meeting the French Kings had their way, approving what accorded with their thinking or disapproving what displeased them. At times they showed irritation at requests made by deputies to the assemblies. Yet through the Estates they worked to reduce the privileges of the clergy and corporate bodies and to encourage agriculture, industry, and commerce by sponsoring

⁶⁵ Lenchères, "Mémoire," fols. 2-4; *Code Corse*, I, 1-11, 188-92; II, 4-7, 64-78; Villat, *Corse de 1768 à 1789*, I, 265-66. Laverdy's ideas on justice and his role in the reform of Corsican justice give support to the argument that his bad reputation is not entirely deserved. (See Maurice Bordes, "La réforme municipale du contrôleur général Laverdy et son application dans certaines provinces," *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine*, XII [Oct.-Dec. 1965], 241-70.)

⁶⁶ *Code Corse*, II, 64-68, 262-98; III, 140-43; Chardon to the Marquis de Monteyard, Mar. 16, 1771, AN, K 1228.56.

⁶⁷ The Comte de Saint-Germain (Minister of War) to Boucheporn, Dec. 21, 1777, AD, Corse, Ser. C, 543, *laisse 2*.

⁶⁸ The Estates met in 1770, 1772, 1773, 1775, 1777, 1779, 1781, and 1785. Morati contended that "the history of the Estates is the history of Corsica itself from 1770 to 1789." (*Procès-verbal*, 1770, ed. Morati, xii.)

special projects and encouraging economic liberty. They also tried to rationalize and simplify the administrative structure and to provide equality before the law. Louis XV's edict regulating civil procedure in Corsica (September 1769) stated that the King considered one of his first duties "that of making [justice] reign in the island of Corsica by the authority of the laws." Like the so-called enlightened despots, Louis XVI sought to codify Corsican law and appointed committees of jurists in Corsica and in Paris to accomplish this task.⁶⁹

The monarchs and their ministers at times listened to some absurd and utterly selfish proposals and requests from the Corsican assemblies, but they did listen, and through their officials on the island they replied, at times sternly, at times compassionately. Careful reading of the *Journals* of the assemblies leads to the conclusion that the Estates had an important place in the administration and government of the island, despite the fact that they did not have legislative powers. The officials who selected matters for consideration by the Estates followed enlightened principles of administration that were accepted by the crown; as a result, the assemblies dealt with a great variety of subjects. What they could not consider was the King's authority as invested in his commissioners. Thus in 1772 a committee reporting on roads had the topic taken away from it because its "essentially vicious" report did not mention the role of the intendant.⁷⁰

In matters of finance, the monarchy also followed the enlightened ideals of its subordinate officials. For Corsica the result was that the island escaped the chronic financial instability and the unequal tax burdens that prevailed in France before the Revolution.⁷¹ Though the financial organization applied in Corsica was not actually revolutionary,⁷² it was reformist. Louis XV established a tax proportional to the wealth of the inhabitants and eliminated all privileged exemptions; all property paid, including Church property and the King's domain. The monarchy initially decided that Corsicans should pay a *subvention* equal to one-tenth of the net product of

⁶⁹ *Code Corse*, I, 273-478; "Procès-Verbal de l'Assemblée de MM les Jurisconsultes nationaux, commencé le 20 may et fini le 18 juillet de l'année 1787," AN, K 1228.24; *Procès-verbal de l'Assemblée générale des États de Corse convoquée à Bastia le 25 mai 1779*, ed. Letteron, 112-13.

⁷⁰ *Procès-verbal*, 1772, ed. Morati, 90. Another important source for studying the relationship between the French Kings and the Corsican Estates are the Kings' instructions to their commissioners. These instructions are widely scattered. (See AG, *Arch. hist.*, A¹ 3669.27, 3666.1; AD, Corse, Ser. C, 549, 543; AN, K 1229, laisse 7, 1226.30, 1227.1, 1227.4.)

⁷¹ A graphic description of the deplorable fiscal system of the old regime after 1769 is Marcel Marion, *Finances d'autrefois et finances aujourd'hui; Le Triumvirat: Leçon d'ouverture du cours d'histoire des faits économiques et sociaux fait au Collège de France, le 4 décembre 1913* (Paris, 1914), 9 ff.; see also the interesting study by Paul H. Beik, *A Judgment of the Old Regime: Being a Survey by the Parlement of Provence of French Economic and Fiscal Policies at the Close of the Seven Years' War* (New York, 1944).

⁷² Cf. Louis Villat, "L'organisation financière de l'ancien régime et la Corse," *Revue de la Corse*, XIII (Nov.-Dec. 1927), 257.

the land, but the shortage of money available to pay this tax forced a change, and in August 1778 a new law was passed that allowed payment of the tax to be made in kind (*subvention en nature des fruits*). This law also changed the tax rate from a *dixième* of the net product of the land to a *vingtième* of the gross product. Louis XVI informed the Corsican Estates that he sought no increase in revenue from the new tax; he desired only "the greatest good for his Corsican subjects." Therefore, if the new tax returned more than 120,000 livres per year, the surplus would be placed at the disposition of the Estates to use for projects of public utility. Though the government collected a variety of indirect taxes from the island and imposed customs duties, the indirect taxes were not as burdensome as those in France, and together the direct and indirect taxes amounted to a moderate imposition. Necker calculated Corsica's total tax contribution at 550,000 livres per year, or 4 livres, 17 sous per person. His calculations indicated that Rennes, the lowest contributor of all French *généralités*, paid 12 livres, 10 sous per person. Even this low figure for Corsica's contribution was misleading. As Necker pointed out, the entire product of the Corsican *impôts* was used on the island, and the King sent an annual supplement of 250,000 livres.⁷³

Again following the policies recommended by French bureaucrats, Louis XV established and his successor maintained freedom of commerce on the island. Rejecting all requests for protectionist favors, the French monarchs repeatedly informed the Corsican Estates that liberty was the foundation of commerce. Thus the inhabitants should make their products of sufficiently good quality and at a price low enough to secure for them preference on a free market. Free commerce did not mean elimination of customs duties, which had the double purpose of protecting Corsican products and securing for the King some indemnity for costs of administering the island.⁷⁴ Yet the duties paid by Corsicans were "modest and simple," to use the phrase of one French official. He pointed out that the islanders were not obliged to renounce their customary commerce with foreign lands. The government wanted, of course, to turn Corsican commerce toward France, he added, but this could not be done immediately, and no one wanted to

⁷³ "Mémoire," [1788,] AN, K 1225.6; *Code Corse*, II, III, IV; Necker, *Administration des finances*, I, 307-13. Necker gives a breakdown of revenues collected in Corsica from various taxes: *subvention*, *loyer des maisons*, *droits d'entrée et sortie*, *vente de sel*, *droits de contrôle et de papier timbré*, *droit sur la pêche*, and some *octrois* levied at Bastia. There is much information on French financial policies in Corsica in the *procès-verbal* of the various meetings of the General Assembly. A highly favorable judgment of the monarchy's fiscal policies on the island is Villat, "Organisation financière," 257-60. Ambroise Ambrosi-Rostino, *Histoire des Corses et de leurs civilisation* (Bastia, 1914), 442-47, judges the financial system after 1778 favorably, but is critical of the system prior to that date.

⁷⁴ *Procès-verbal*, 1770, ed. Morati, 34-35, 40-48, 64; *Procès-verbal de l'Assemblée générale des États de Corse tenue à Bastia le 8 novembre 1773 et jours suivants*, ed. *id.*, 81-83; *Procès-verbal*, 1779, ed. Letteron, 20-22, 164.

risk doing great damage in order to secure a recognized good.⁷⁵ The economic thinking of French bureaucrats was not entirely physiocratic, and French economic policies applied in the island did not mean complete economic freedom. But the thought and the policies give support to the thesis that one of the main trends in political economy after the Seven Years' War was "a decided tendency toward economic liberalism" among economists and men of affairs.⁷⁶

Finally, the French Kings diligently tried to eliminate both the concept and the fact of privilege from Corsican society. Many times they informed the Corsicans that privileges did not accord with the principles of a wise and enlightened administration. The new Corsican nobility had honorific privileges, to be sure, but they did not have significant remunerative privileges. The government refused all clerical requests for exemptions from taxation and allowed the towns to keep only those privileges that did not conflict with equitable application of the laws. The monarchy generally refused requests for monopolies over new industries and trade. A monopoly over tobacco was tried, but rejected, and that trade was left free; the King, not the *ferme générale*, supplied the island with salt. The one exception to the government's antimonopoly policy involved a monopolistic company already established on the Continent: Corsicans were extremely irritated by limits put on Corsican coral fisherman in order to protect the rights of the *Compagnie d'Afrique*.⁷⁷

Perhaps the most graphic statement of the French crown's opposition to privilege appeared in the "King's Edict concerning Rural Abuses and the Rural Police in Corsica," dated July 1771. In response to the wishes of the General Assembly of the Corsican Estates, Louis XV announced that it was necessary to avoid certain problems arising at harvest time, which could only be done "by subjecting individual wills to the general will when a question of the good of all was involved. It [was] especially necessary to renew the chief good of society." In his address to the General Assembly on May 25, 1775, Boucheporn urged the representatives to think in similar terms. He pointed out that they would naturally think first of their particular provinces, but that was the least important part of their tasks, and they

⁷⁵ Blondel (intendant of commerce at Paris) to La Guillaumye, July 18, 1786, AD, Corse, Ser. C, 38, laisse 2. After 1768 the Corsicans continued their trade with various Italian states. (See the Admiralty documents in AN, G 32, 33; Marien Martini, "Situation économique et humaine du Cap-Corse en 1770-1775," *Corse historique*, IV [Nos. 13-14, 1964], 67-74; and "Situation économique de la Ville de Bonifacio à la fin du XVIII^e siècle, d'après un document inédit [1786]," ed. François de Lanfranchi, *ibid.*, VII [Nos. 27-28, 1967], 73-94.) Lenchères, "Mémoire," fol. 15, said that the Corsican customs duties were lower in 1775 than in 1769.

⁷⁶ Cf. Beik, *Judgment of the Old Regime*, 30; see also Henri Sée, *Histoire économique de la France* (2 vols., Paris, 1948-51), I, 307-12.

⁷⁷ Casanova, *Corse et les États Généraux*, 38-55; Lenchères, "Mémoire," fol. 8. On the *pêche du corail*, see the voluminous correspondence in AE, MD, *France*, 1536, 1540-42, 1544.

would not fulfill their obligations if they paid no attention to the needs of other provinces. What Corsica needed, Boucheporn continued, was representatives who overcame their self-interest, shared their projects with other deputies, and together turned their attention first to agriculture, "the source of all wealth," and then to the possibilities of a flourishing commerce. "This concurrence of *lumières*," he concluded, "of zeal, of love for the general welfare, will prepare a happy revolution."⁷⁸ These statements, and others like them, make it clear that the French monarchs sought to establish in Corsica a society based upon the general good of all its members rather than upon privilege.⁷⁹ The frequency with which French administrators expressed objections to privilege is especially striking in view of the vigorous Enlightenment propaganda against privilege, the French monarchy's relative inability to limit privilege on the Continent, and the concerted reaction of privileged groups in France prior to the Revolution.

An observer of French policies on the island commented that the French conduct in Corsica after 1768 resembled that of a doctor who made his patient swallow in one day all of the remedies that he should have taken during the course of a long illness.⁸⁰ The comparison is apt. During the period from 1768 to the Revolution, Louis XV and Louis XVI attempted to regenerate Corsica through policies that embodied many of the enlightened ideals of the age. But the inspiration for their policies did not come directly from the great philosophes and physiocrats; it came from the bureaucratic administrators on Corsica who absorbed the spirit of reform that surrounded them, tempered it and modified it by their cultural relativism and their concern for the possible, and then passed it back to the central government through their memoirs and correspondence.

In his detailed study of French Corsica prior to the Revolution, Louis Villat said that there was no better formula for enlightened despotism than

⁷⁸ *Code Corse*, II, 372-94; Boucheporn, "Discourse prononcée par Monsieur de Boucheporn à l'ouverture des États de Corse à Bastia, le 25 may 1775," AE, MD, *France*, 1540, fols. 47-58. The language used in the *Code* and in Boucheporn's address may be derived from the writings of Rousseau, especially because it was widely known that he was interested in the fate of the island. But the "republican rhetoric" was widespread in Europe on the eve of the Revolution; it seems to have been part of the "esprit du siècle." (See the comments in Ardascheff, *Intendants de province sous Louis XVI*, 200-203; Mousnier and Labrousse, *Le XVIII^e siècle*, 173; Werner Krauss, "'Patriote,' 'patriotique,' 'patriotisme' à la fin de l'Ancien Régime," in *The Age of the Enlightenment: Studies Presented to Theodore Besterman*, ed. W. H. Barber *et al.* [Edinburgh, 1967], 387-94.)

⁷⁹ Other sources illustrating the monarchy's stand against privilege are: AG, *Arch. hist.*, A¹ 3651.65, 3662.191; AD, *Corse*, Ser. C, 543 *et passim*, 549 *et passim*; and references scattered through the *procès-verbal* of the different assemblies of the Estates. The author of a memoir written on the eve of the Revolution ("Situation économique de la Ville de Bonifacio," ed. Lanfranchi, 93) said that the citizens of Bonifacio had only respect for the noblesse because they enjoyed "the same privileges, the same prerogatives, [and] the same honors."

⁸⁰ "Mémoires historiques sur la Corse," ed. Caraffa, 72.

a statement made by the Minister of War, the Marquis de Ségur, in a letter written to Marbeuf on February 5, 1783:

While it is evident that what is proposed to be done [in Corsica] has for its end the general utility, there is no necessity to listen to the province, which is still too little enlightened about its true interests to know what could be good or harmful for it.⁸¹

Yet French rule in Corsica was both less despotic and more enlightened than this formula for enlightened despotism suggests. Contrary to this formula, the French monarchy was willing to consult with the Corsican people about their needs and grievances. The monarchy seemed to accept the position taken by its subordinate officials, who said that wise and enlightened government resulted from understanding, which in turn came only through consultation with the King's subjects. This fact, considered in conjunction with the French Kings' willingness to listen to the enlightened ideas of their subordinate officials, helps to explain the successes of French policies in Corsica, however limited those successes may have been. Had conditions been the same on the Continent, it is at least possible that the years before the Revolution would have had a different history. But in France the monarchy was too weak in the face of vested interests that were too strong. Those vested interests did not exist in Corsica. As Colonel Jacques Guibert had observed in 1769, it was easier to create than to refound.

⁸¹ Villat, *Corse de 1768 à 1789*, II, 13, 85; see also Lhéritier, "Rôle historique du despotisme éclairé," 608; Alex Linvald, "Comment le despotisme éclairé s'est présenté dans l'histoire du Danemark," *BICHES*, V (No. 20, 1933), 715. Lhéritier and Linvald suggest that the classic expression of enlightened despotism was contained in this simple formula: "Tout pour le peuple, rien par le peuple."

Southern Violence

SHELDON HACKNEY

A TENDENCY toward violence has been one of the character traits most frequently attributed to southerners.¹ In various guises, the image of the violent South confronts the historian at every turn: dueling gentlemen and masters whipping slaves, flatboatmen indulging in rough-and-tumble fights, lynching mobs, country folk at a bearbaiting or a gander pulling, romantic adventurers on Caribbean filibusters, brutal police, panic-stricken communities harshly suppressing real and imagined slave revolts, robed night riders engaged in systematic terrorism, unknown assassins, church burners, and other less physical expressions of a South whose mode of action is frequently extreme.² The image is so pervasive that it compels the attention of anyone interested in understanding the South.

H. C. Brearley was among the first to assemble the quantitative data to support the description of the South as "that part of the United States lying below the Smith and Wesson line."³ He pointed out, for example, that during the five years from 1920 to 1924 the rate of homicide per 100,000 population for the southern states was a little more than two and a half times greater than for the remainder of the country. Using data from the *Uniform Crime Reports* concerning the 1930's, Stuart Lottier confirmed and elaborated Brearley's findings in 1938. For this period also he found that homicide was concentrated in the southeastern states. Of the eleven former Confed-

► At Yale University, where he received his Ph.D. in 1966, Mr. Hackney worked under C. Vann Woodward. An assistant professor at Princeton University, he is interested in the South since 1877 and US history, 1877-1914. In May 1969 his book, "Populism to Progressivism in Alabama," will be published; he is now beginning research for a history of the South, 1945-1965.

¹ See, e.g., Charles O. Lerche, Jr., *The Uncertain South: Its Changing Patterns of Politics in Foreign Policy* (Chicago, 1964), 48-49. Representative comments can be found in John Richard Alden, *The South in the Revolution, 1763-1789* (Baton Rouge, La., 1957), 34-35, 41; Clement Eaton, *A History of the Old South* (2d ed., New York, 1966), 260, 395, 404, 407, 415; John Hope Franklin, *The Militant South, 1800-1861* (Cambridge, Mass., 1956); David Bertelson, *The Lazy South* (New York, 1967), 101-13, 241; H. V. Redfield, *Homicide, North and South: Being a Comparative View of Crime against the Person in Several Parts of the United States* (Philadelphia, 1880).

² A stimulating essay on this theme is Frank Vandiver, "The Southerner as Extremist," in *The Idea of the South*, ed. *id.* (Chicago, 1964), 43-56. A lighter treatment of the same subject is Erskine Caldwell, "The Deep South's Other Venerable Tradition," *New York Times Magazine*, July 11, 1965, 10-18.

³ H. C. Brearley, "The Pattern of Violence," in *id.*, *Culture in the South*, ed. W. T. Couch (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1934), 678-92; and H. C. Brearley, *Homicide in the United States* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1932).

erate states, Louisiana showed the lowest homicide rate, but it was 74 per cent greater than the national average, and no nonsouthern state had a higher rate. It is interesting that while murder and assault were oriented to the southeastern states, robbery rates were highest in the central and western states.⁴ These findings were replicated in 1954 using data on crime for the years 1946-1952.⁵ The pattern of high rates of serious crimes against persons and relatively lower rates of crimes against property for the South is consequently quite stable.

At the time that Brearley was setting forth the evidence for southern leadership in physical aggression against people, another statistical study primarily of American suicide rates revealed that the South was the area in which people had the least propensity to destroy themselves.⁶ Austin Porterfield, in 1949, using mortality tables from *Vital Statistics of the United States*, brought the murder and the suicide indexes together and showed that there was a general inverse relationship between the two rates among the states and that the South ranked highest in homicide and lowest in suicide.⁷ In 1940 the national average rate of suicide per 100,000 population was 14.4 and of homicide was 6.2, but the old and cosmopolitan city of New Orleans had a suicide rate of 11.1 and a homicide rate of 15.5. Even though some southern cities exceed some nonsouthern cities in suicide rates, the New Orleans pattern of more homicides than suicides is typical of the South but not of the nation. Porterfield comments that "suicide in every non-Southern city exceeds homicide by ratios ranging from 1.19 to 18.60, while suicide rates exceed homicide rates in only 8 of the 43 Southern and Southwestern cities, 5 of these being in the Southwest."⁸

Violence in the South has three dimensions. In relation to the North, there are high rates of homicide and assault, moderate rates of crime against property, and low rates of suicide. The relationship between homicide and suicide rates in a given group is best expressed by a suicide-homicide ratio ($SHR = 100 \text{ [Suicides/Suicides + Homicides]}$). The European pattern, shared by white northerners but not by Negroes or white southerners, is for suicides to far outnumber homicides so that the SHR is in excess of 80. The ratios in Table I, displayed graphically in Figure 1, measure the difference be-

⁴ Stuart Lottier, "Distribution of Criminal Offenses in Sectional Regions," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, XXIX (Sept.-Oct. 1938), 329-44.

⁵ Lyle Shannon, "The Spatial Distribution of Criminal Offenses by States," *ibid.*, XLV (Sept.-Oct. 1954), 264-73.

⁶ Louis I. Dublin and Bessie Bunzel, *To Be Or Not To Be: A Study of Suicide* (New York, 1933), 80, 413.

⁷ Austin L. Porterfield, "Indices of Suicide and Homicide by States and Cities: Some Southern-Non-Southern Contrasts with Implications for Research," *American Sociological Review*, XIV (Aug. 1949), 481-90.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 485.

Table I
Suicide-Homicide Ratios for Four Categories of Americans, 1920-1964⁹

Year	United States White SHR	Southern White SHR	United States Negro SHR	Southern Negro SHR
1920	69.3	43.4*	11.2	05.6*
1925	70.9	53.5*	09.2	05.0*
1930	75.0	61.1*	11.9	06.0*
1935	76.2	59.9	11.4	06.3
1940	83.3	68.5	09.6	06.5
1945	80.3	66.4	11.1	06.8
1950	82.4	69.8	12.4	09.3
1955	88.3	73.1	15.6	09.7
1960	82.0	74.4	17.0	12.2
1964	81.1	73.2	16.7	11.1

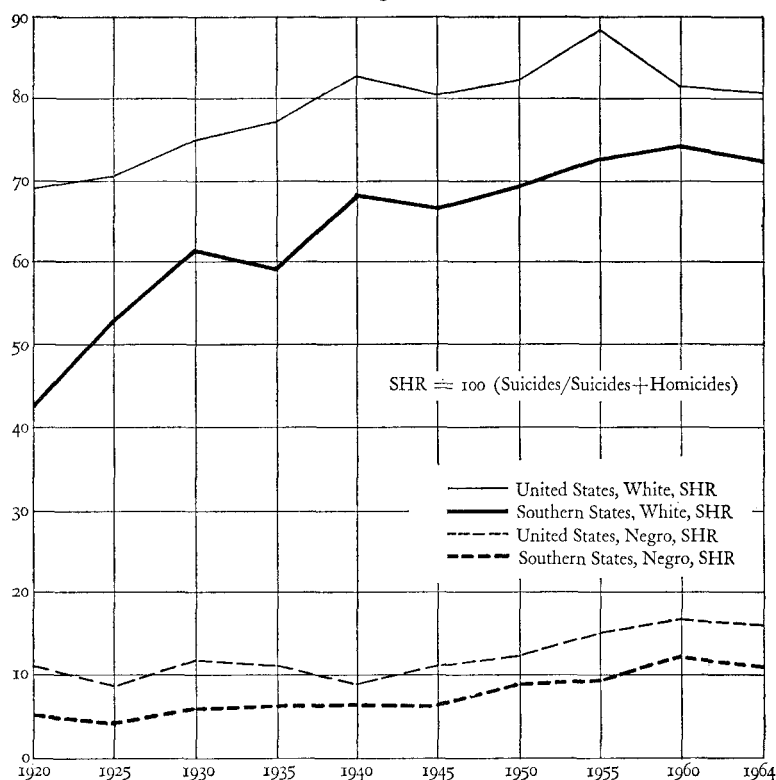
tween southerners and other Americans with regard to violence. Because the statistics for "the United States" include the statistics for the southern states, the differences between southern and nonsouthern suicide-murder ratios are understated. Even so, the differences are significant. In the North and the South, but more so in the South, Negroes commit murder much more often than they commit suicide. Among white Americans, southerners show a relatively greater preference than do nonsoutherners for murder rather than suicide.

High murder and low suicide rates constitute a distinctly southern pattern of violence, one that must rank with the caste system and ahead of mint juleps in importance as a key to the meaning of being southern. Why this should be so is a question that has puzzled investigators for a long time, and their answers have been various. When one loyal southerner was asked by a probing Yankee why the murder rate in the South was so high, he replied that he reckoned there were just more folks in the South who needed killing.

Few apologies surpass this one in purity, but there is a more popular one that tries to explain the high homicide rates in the southern states by

⁹ Suicide-Homicide Ratio=100 (Suicides/Suicides+Homicides). As the ratio approaches 100, it registers the increasing preference for suicide rather than murder among the members of a given group. The ratios were computed from figures taken from Forrest E. Linder and Robert D. Grove, *Vital Statistics Rates in the United States, 1900-1940* (Washington, D. C., 1943); and US, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, *Vital Statistics of the United States*, for the appropriate years. The asterisks in the table indicate that: in 1920 all of the former Confederate states were included in the figures except Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, and Texas; Arkansas, Georgia, and Texas were still not reporting in 1925, but by 1930 only Texas was excluded; since 1935 all southern states are included.

Figure 1



the extremely high rates of violence among Negroes who constitute a large part of the population. As Table I indicates, however, southern whites considered by themselves vary from the national norm in the same direction as Negroes, though to a much lesser extent. In addition, Porterfield points out that for the twelve southern states with the heaviest Negro population, the coefficient of correlation between serious crimes and the percentage of Negroes in the population is $-.44$. There is actually a tendency for states to rank lower in serious crimes as the percentage of Negroes in the population increases.¹⁰

A more sophisticated theory is that southern white society contains a larger proportion of lower status occupations so that the same factors that cause lower status groups in the North to become more violent than the rest of society have a proportionately greater effect on the South. The dif-

¹⁰ Austin L. Porterfield, "A Decade of Serious Crimes in the United States," *American Sociological Review*, XIII (Feb. 1948), 44-54; see also James E. McKeown, "Poverty, Race, and Crime," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, XXXIX (Nov.-Dec. 1948), 480-83.

ference in rates would then be accounted for by the numerical bulge in the high risk group, and only the stratification of society would be peculiarly southern. Unfortunately for this theory, southern cities, in which whites show the distinctive pattern of southern violence, actually have greater percentages of the white population in higher status jobs than do northern cities.¹¹ It is not the class structure that causes the southern skew in the statistics.

In the same way, the agricultural nature of southern life might account for the pattern of southern violence. That the peculiar configuration exists in southern cities as well as in the countryside could possibly be accounted for by the large migration into the city of people who learned their ways of living and dying in the country. Table II shows that both homicide and

Table II
Homicide and Suicide Rates by Race and by Size of Population
Group, United States, 1940¹²

	US	Cities 100,000 and up	Cities 10,000- 100,000	Cities 2,500- 10,000	Rural
Suicide (All Ages, Both Sexes)					
All Races	14.4	16.8	15.6	15.1	12.0
White	15.5	17.8	16.4	16.0	13.3
Nonwhite	4.6	7.2	5.8	4.5	3.0
Homicide (All Ages, Both Sexes)					
All Races	6.2	7.1	5.7	7.3	5.7
White	3.1	3.2	2.5	3.7	3.3
Nonwhite	33.3	43.3	43.0	51.9	23.1

suicide rates are lower for rural districts than for urban areas. This results in an SHR for the white population of rural districts considered by themselves of 80.1, as compared with an SHR of 83.7 for the white population of the nation as a whole. The SHR of 68.8 in 1940 for southern whites, both urban and rural, is significantly lower than the national ratios and indicates

¹¹ Norval D. Glenn, "Occupational Benefits to Whites from the Subordination of Negroes," *American Sociological Review*, XXVIII (June 1963), 443-48, esp. Table I.

¹² The source for this table is Linder and Grove, *Vital Statistics Rates in the United States, 1900-1940*, Table 24.

that southern whites tended more to act out their aggressions than the white population of either the cities or the countryside in the rest of the nation.

Another way of testing the notion that the rurality of the South may be the root of its strange configuration of violence is summarized in Table III,

Table III

Suicide and Homicide Rates and Suicide-Homicide Ratios for Southern States and Eleven Most Rural Nonsouthern States, 1940¹³

Population Group			Suicide-Homicide Ratio		
Southern Nonwhite			6.7		
National Nonwhite			12.2		
Southern White			68.8		
Nonsouthern, White Rural (11 states)			79.0		
National White Rural			80.1		
National White			83.7		

Southern States	White		Rural Nonsouthern States	White	
	Suicide Rate	Homicide Rate		Suicide Rate	Homicide Rate
Alabama	11.7	6.9	Arizona	15.2	7.5
Arkansas	8.0	5.1	Idaho	17.7	3.3
Florida	19.8	7.5	Iowa	15.2	1.3
Georgia	12.1	5.6	Kansas	13.0	1.1
Louisiana	12.4	5.5	Montana	21.1	4.8
Mississippi	10.1	5.7	Nebraska	16.8	.7
North Carolina	10.4	4.0	New Mexico	14.2	5.7
South Carolina	9.7	5.0	North Dakota	9.7	1.4
Tennessee	10.0	7.1	South Dakota	10.5	1.8
Texas	13.6	5.3	Vermont	16.7	.8
Virginia	18.4	5.0	Wyoming	23.5	4.5
Averages	12.4	5.6	Averages	15.8	4.2

a comparison of the SHR's of the eleven former Confederate states with those of the eleven most rural nonsouthern states. The nonsouthern states, mostly western, are closer in time to frontier days and are currently much more subject to instability caused by in-migration than are the southern

¹³ The source for Table III is *ibid.*, Table 20. All rates are per 100,000 population.

states, but otherwise the two sets of states are similar enough for purposes of comparison. In 1940 the percentage of population living in the urban areas of the southern states ranged from 13.4 per cent to 36.7 per cent, with the mean falling at 26.1 per cent, while in the eleven nonsouthern states the degree of urbanization ranged from 13.6 per cent to 36.7 per cent, with the mean at 31.2 per cent. In order not to distort the picture more than necessary, Nevada, with an extraordinary suicide rate of 41.3 per 100,000 population, is omitted from the comparison. At the same time, Virginia and Florida, with nonsouthern SHR's, are retained in the southern sample. The results still show a significant difference between the suicide-murder ratio of the southern states and that of the most rural nonsouthern states. The strange bent of southern violence cannot be accounted for by the rural nature of southern society.

Poverty is also a logical factor to suspect as the underlying cause of the South's pattern of violence. Howard Odum computed that in 1930 the Southeast had 20.9 per cent of the nation's population but only 11.9 per cent of its wealth.¹⁴ Whether or not the region was poor before it was violent is undetermined. Even more to the point, poverty alone cannot explain high homicide rates. The decline of homicides during business depressions in the United States underlines this argument, as does the fact that crime rates among second-generation immigrants are much higher than among first-generation immigrants despite increased material welfare of the former.¹⁵ One study has found no significant correlation between crime rates and the proportion of the population on relief by county in Minnesota, whereas there was a strong correlation between crime rates and the degree of urbanization. Like the rural poor in Minnesota, the Japanese of Seattle were poor but honest and nonviolent.¹⁶

Though the data are extremely questionable, there is, nevertheless, a significant positive correlation between the SHR for the fifty-six world polities for which information is readily available and almost every measure of modernization that can be quantified.¹⁷ It is difficult to determine whether it is underdevelopment or the process of change that accounts for this, for scholars have noted that the process of modernization generates various sorts

¹⁴ Howard Odum, *Southern Regions of the United States* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1936), 208.

¹⁵ Edwin H. Sutherland and Donald R. Cressey, *Principles of Criminology* (6th ed., New York, 1960), 92, 146-49.

¹⁶ Van B. Shaw, "The Relationship between Crime Rates and Certain Population Characteristics in Minnesota Counties," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, XL (May-June 1949), 43-49.

¹⁷ Simple intercorrelations were run between the indexes of homicide and suicide and measures of social and economic activity using data from *World Handbook of Political and Social Indicators*, ed. Bruce M. Russett *et al.* (New Haven, Conn., 1964); and Statistical Office of the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, *Demographic Yearbook, 1963* (New York, 1964), Table 25.

of conflict and violence.¹⁸ For both developing and industrialized nations, education is the most powerful predictor of a country's SHR, but indexes of industrial and urban activity, along with reflections of the society's general welfare, are also significantly correlated with the SHR. This is true for the fifty-six world polities considered together as well as for the European nations as a group and for the non-European countries taken together. That southerners over the past half century have been growing more similar to nonsouthern Americans in their tastes in violence as the gap between the nation and the South in economic development has slowly narrowed also argues that there may be no increment of violence in the South that is not "explained" by the relative slowness of the region's development.

Multiple regression analysis offers a technique for testing the possibility that variations in the key indexes of modernization operating in an additive fashion might account for the South's particularity in rates of violence. Six independent variables measuring the four factors of wealth, education, urbanization, and age are included in this analysis. Except where indicated below, their values are taken from the *United States Census* for 1940. Urbanization is stated as the percentage of the population living within towns of 2,500 or more; education is measured by the median number of school years completed by persons twenty-five years old and older; "income" is the state's per capita personal income in dollars for 1940; unemployment is expressed as the percentage of the working force out of work; "wealth" is the state's per capita income in dollars in 1950; and age is the median age of the population. The values of each variable except "income" are recorded by race. "South" is a dummy variable included in the analysis in order to see if any of the unexplained residue of the dependent variable is associated with the fact of its occurring either inside or outside the South. All of the former Confederate states were assigned the value of one, while all nonsouthern states were recorded as zero. The dependent variables that require "explaining" are the suicide rate, the homicide rate, the sum of the suicide rate and homicide rate, and the suicide-homicide ratio. Even though these rates are taken from the most reliable source, *Vital Statistics of the United States*, there may be large errors between the published rates and the true rates. Some violent deaths are never recorded, and many are improperly classified, but there is no reason to suspect that there has been a long-term, systematic bias in the collection and recording of the statistics for the southern states.

¹⁸ Richard S. Weinert, "Violence in Pre-Modern Societies: Rural Colombia," *American Political Science Review*, LX (June 1966), 340-47; *Internal War, Problems and Approaches*, ed. Harry Eckstein (New York, 1964); E. J. Hobsbawm, *Primitive Rebels: Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movement in the 19th and 20th Centuries* (New York, 1959). An important synthesis and statement of theory is Ted Gurr, "Psychological Factors in Civil Violence," *World Politics*, XX (Jan. 1968), 245-78.

For the purpose of the crude comparison between South and non-South, the *Vital Statistics* are acceptable.

The results of the analysis are summarized in Table IV. The coefficient of correlation between each of the independent variables and the dependent variable is found in the column labeled "Simple." The percentage of the variation in the dependent variable that is associated with, and thus "explained" by, the variation in the independent variable is found by squaring the coefficient of correlation. Education, for example, is the best single predictor of the white suicide rate. The simple coefficient of correlation of .62 between education and suicide in Table IV indicates that approximately 38 per cent of the variation in the white suicide rate among the forty-eight states in 1940 is associated with variations in the educational level of the populations. The positive correlation means that the suicide rate tends to rise from one state to the next as the educational level rises. The negative coefficients of correlation between each of the independent variables, except South, and the white homicide rate indicate, conversely, that the homicide rate tends to decline as the indexes of development rise.

The effect on the dependent variable of all of the independent variables considered together is measured by the coefficient of multiple correlation, "R." Thus 72 per cent of the white suicide rate and 52 per cent of the white homicide rate are explained by the seven independent variables operating in an additive fashion. The coefficient of partial correlation expresses the relationship of each independent variable with the unexplained portion of the dependent variable after the independent variables acting collectively have done all the explaining possible. The coefficient of partial correlation for the dummy variable (South) is the most important yield of the multiple regression analysis.

Even though the seven independent variables acting together explain 72 per cent of the variation of the white SHR among the forty-eight states in 1940, 28 per cent ($r = -.53$) of the remaining portion of the variation of the white SHR is associated with the South. This means that the white SHR is lower in the South than can be accounted for by the lower indexes of urbanization, education, wealth, and age. There is, similarly, a significant portion of the variation from state to state in the white homicide rate, and in the white suicide rate, that is not explained by variations in measures of development, but that is explained by southernness.

If the deviation of the South from the national norms for violence cannot be attributed to backwardness, or at least not to the static measures of underdevelopment, there are other possible explanations that should be considered. The concept of anomie, developed by Émile Durkheim in his

Table IV
Multiple Regression Analysis
Violence, Development, and Sectionalism in the United States, 1940¹⁹

Dependent Variables by State	R ² Variation Explained	Urbanization		Education		Income		Unemployment		Wealth		Age		South	
		Simple	Partial	Simple	Partial	Simple	Partial	Simple	Partial	Simple	Partial	Simple	Partial	Simple	Partial
White Suicide Rate	.72*	.25	-.64*	.62*	.52	-.56*	.14	.22	.33	-.53*	.35	.55*	.59*	-.31	.42*
White Homicide Rate	.52*	-.45*	-.24	-.17	.09	-.42	.23	-.13	.26	-.42	-.12	-.58*	.24	.54*	.49*
White Homicide plus Suicide Rate	.57*	.07	-.59*	.52	.44*	.36	.20	.15	.35	-.34	.22	-.30	.41*	-.09	.50*
White Suicide-Homicide Ratio	.72*	.53*	-.02	.40*	.11	.63*	-.24	.25	-.18	.62*	.29	.76*	.49*	-.68*	-.53*
Nonwhite Suicide Rate	.30	.08	-.13	.30	.25	.47*	.26	.15	-.09	.34	-.00	.13	-.04	-.34	.08
Nonwhite Homicide Rate	.25	-.07	-.28	-.19	-.25	-.11	.18	-.17	.21	-.09	-.04	.04	.40*	.28	.37*
Nonwhite Homicide plus Suicide Rate	.22	-.02	-.30	-.03	-.12	.13	.27	-.08	.15	.09	-.04	.10	.35	.09	.37*
Nonwhite Suicide-Homicide Ratio	.35	.27	.32	.36	.31	.43*	.18	.30	-.11	.36	-.10	.12	-.40	-.36	-.09

¹⁹ The asterisks in the table denote that the chance that a random ordering of the data would produce a relationship this strong is less than one in one hundred.

study, *Suicide*, in 1898, is frequently mentioned as an explanation of both homicide and suicide. Anomie has meant slightly varying but not contradictory things to different investigators. It is most generally understood to be a social condition in which there is a deterioration of belief in the existing set of rules of behavior, or in which accepted rules are mutually contradictory, or when prescribed goals are not accessible through legitimate means, or when cognition and socialization have been obstructed by personality traits that cluster about low ego-strength.²⁰ As it is manifested in the individual, in the form of anomy, it is a feeling of normlessness and estrangement from other people. An anomic person feels lost, drifting without clearly defined rules and expectations, isolated, powerless, and frustrated. In this state, there is a strong strain toward deviant behavior in various forms. The problem is that both homicide and suicide are thought to be related to it, and the theory does not predict what sorts of people or what groups will favor one form of behavior rather than another.

To look at southern violence as the product of anomie in any case would involve a great paradox. The most popular explanation of the high rates of violence in America as compared to Europe places the blame on the rapid urbanization, secularization, and industrialization of the United States and on the social characteristics associated with this remarkable growth: geographic and status mobility, an emphasis upon contractual relationships and upon social norms rather than upon personal relationships, competitive striving, and a cultural pluralism that involves a high level of dissonance among the values that everyone tries to put into practice.²¹ The South has traditionally served as the counterpoint to the American way of life because it seemed to differ from the North in these very aspects.²² Southerners have a greater sense of history than northerners, a greater attachment to place, and more deferential social customs. By all reports, southerners place more emphasis on personal relations and on ascribed statuses than do northerners. Not only do southerners prize political and social cohesion, but by most measures the South is much more homogeneous than the non-South.²³ Yet, though the South differs from the North on so many of the factors that supposedly contribute to anomie and thus to violence, the South is the nation's most violent region.

²⁰ Herbert McClosky and John H. Schaar, "Psychological Dimensions of Anomy," *American Sociological Review*, XXX (Feb. 1965), 14-40.

²¹ David Abrahamsen, *The Psychology of Crime* (New York, 1960), 18-21, 177-83. These relationships are greatly illuminated by the discussion in David Potter, *People of Plenty: Economic Abundance and the American Character* (Chicago, 1954).

²² William H. Taylor, *Cavalier and Yankee: The Old South and American National Character* (Garden City, N. Y., 1963); C. Vann Woodward, *The Burden of Southern History* (Baton Rouge, La., 1960), 109-40.

²³ Jack P. Gibbs and Walter T. Martin, *Status Integration and Suicide: A Sociological Study* (Eugene, Ore., 1964), esp. Table 6.

One body of theory seems to predict higher rates of violence precisely because of the South's homogeneity. Reformulating the observations of George Simmel and Bronisław Malinowski, Lewis Coser writes that "we may say that a conflict is more passionate and more radical when it arises out of close relationships." "The closer the relationship," so the reasoning goes, "the greater the affective investment, the greater also the tendency to suppress rather than express hostile feelings. . . . In such cases feelings of hostility tend to accumulate and hence intensify." Such a theory fits the empirical observation that individuals who express hostility retain fewer and less violent feelings of antagonism toward the source of their irritation.²⁴ But Coser himself states that, though conflicts within close relationships are likely to be intense when they occur, "this does not necessarily point to the likelihood of more *frequent* conflict in closer relationships than in less close ones." There are situations in which accumulated hostilities do not eventuate in conflict and may even serve to solidify the relationship.²⁵

The frustration-aggression hypothesis involves similar perplexities.²⁶ One of the alternative ways of adapting to frustration is, for example, to turn the frustration inward upon the self. In extreme cases this can result in suicide.²⁷ A psychoanalyst has concluded after an extensive study that a major portion of Sweden's high suicide rate is caused by the frustrations arising from a highly competitive, success-oriented society.²⁸ The general rise in suicide rates in the United States during economic downturns argues that the same mechanism is at work among some segments of the population. Consequently, nothing in the frustration-aggression hypothesis predicts the direction the aggression will take.

There are currently two theories that attempt to explain the generally inverse relationship between homicide and suicide as reactions to frustration. The first, developed by Andrew F. Henry and James F. Short, Jr.,²⁹ is based on the assumption that both homicide and suicide are the result of frustration-aggression and builds upon Porterfield's initial suggestion that the

²⁴ Lewis A. Coser, *The Functions of Social Conflict* (New York, 1956), 57, 62, 71; Albert Pepitone and George Reichling, "Group Cohesiveness and Expression of Hostility," in *Personality and Social Systems*, ed. Neil J. Smelser and William T. Smelser (New York, 1963), 117-24.

²⁵ Coser, *Functions of Social Conflict*, 72.

²⁶ John Dollard *et al.*, *Frustration and Aggression* (New Haven, Conn., 1939); Leonard Berkowitz, *Aggression: A Social Psychological Analysis* (New York, 1962); Aubrey J. Yates, *Frustration and Conflict* (New York, 1962).

²⁷ Karl Menninger, *Man against Himself* (New York, 1938), 23. The assumption that homicide and suicide are simply aggressions manifested in different directions is the basis of the concept of the suicide-homicide ratio.

²⁸ Herbert Hendin, *Suicide and Scandinavia: A Psychoanalytic Study of Culture and Character* (Garden City, N. Y., 1965), Chap. v.

²⁹ Andrew F. Henry and James F. Short, Jr., *Suicide and Homicide: Some Economic, Sociological, and Psychological Aspects of Aggression* (Glencoe, Ill., 1954).

strength of the relational system might have something to do with an individual's choice of either homicide or suicide.³⁰ Henry and Short adduce data on the relationship of homicide and suicide rates to the business cycle and to certain statistically distinct groups. They reason that overt aggression against others "varies directly with the strength of external restraint over the behavior of the adult—external restraint which is a function of strength of the relational system and position in the status hierarchy."³¹ According to this theory, overt aggression increases as the strength of the relational system increases and as a person's position in the status hierarchy decreases.

Martin Gold has pointed out, however, that contrary to the hypothesis of Henry and Short, upper status people are likely to be more restrained by the expectations of others than are lower status people. Even more damaging is Gold's demonstration that the Henry and Short hypothesis does not correctly predict the greater preference of women for suicide rather than homicide;³² nor does it correctly predict that suicide rates are lower among the middle classes than at either extreme of the social scale.

The second theory, fashioned by Gold, attempts to relate differences in child-rearing practices to preferences for hostility or guilt as an accommodation to frustration. Gold shows, specifically, that there is a positive correlation between the incidence of physical punishment commonly used in the child-rearing practices of certain groups and the rate of homicide for that group. His conclusion is that physical disciplining of children leads to aggression against others rather than against the self.³³ To confound the theory, restrictive child-rearing practices in Europe evidently do not lead to the physical violence that such practices among the lower classes in America are supposed to produce. It is also doubtful that there is a significant class differential in the degree of physical punishment used to discipline children.³⁴ William and Joan McCord found in their study of juveniles that there was no strong relationship between disciplining methods and criminality except when a child is rejected by his parents or when his parents provide him with a deviant role model; harsh discipline does

³⁰ Porterfield, "Indices of Suicide and Homicide," 488.

³¹ Henry and Short, *Suicide and Homicide*, 119.

³² Martin Gold, "Suicide, Homicide, and the Socialization of Aggression," *American Journal of Sociology*, LXIII (May 1958), 651-61. Gold originated the SHR, which he called the "suicide-murder ratio."

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ Melvin L. Kohn, "Social Class and the Exercise of Parental Authority," in *Personality and Social Systems*, ed. Smelser and Smelser, 297-314; Martha Sturm White, "Social Class, Child Rearing Practices, and Child Behavior," *ibid.*, 286-96; Bernard C. Rosen and Roy D'Andrade, "The Psychosocial Origins of Achievement Motivation," *Sociometry*, XXII (Sept. 1959), 185-215, cited in *Anomie and Deviant Behavior: A Discussion and Critique*, ed. Marshall B. Clinard (New York, 1964), 260-61; Bernard Berelson and Gary A. Steiner, *Human Behavior: An Inventory of Scientific Findings* (New York, 1964), 479-81.

less damage than neglect.³⁵ Despite such complexities, it is reasonable to suppose that there is some causal relationship between the socialization of aggression and a group's SHR, but before such a relationship can be a useful ingredient of an explanation of southern violence, anthropologists and historians need to know much more about regional differences in child-rearing techniques.

Whether or not the cause can be located in child-rearing practices, several bodies of evidence point to the conclusion that southern violence is a cultural pattern that exists separate from current influences. For instance, several commentators have suggested that the habit of carrying guns in the South made murder a much more frequent outcome of altercations among southerners than among northerners. This argument is buttressed by a 1968 survey, reported in Table V, which showed that 52 per cent of south-

Table V
Per Cent of Families Owning Firearms³⁶

	Yes	No	Not Sure
Total White	34	65	1
South	52	45	3
Non-South	27	72	1
Total Nonwhite	24	70	6
South	34	61	5
Non-South	15	78	7

ern white families owned guns, as opposed to only 27 per cent of their nonsouthern white counterparts. It may be, however, that this differential in ownership of guns is the result of a violent turn of mind rather than the cause of violence. This is the implication of the fact that when the House of Representatives in 1968 passed a weak gun control bill to restrict the mail-order sale of rifles, shotguns, and ammunition by the overwhelming vote of 304 to 118, representatives of the eleven former Confederate states nonetheless voted 73 to 19 against the bill.³⁷ It should be noted, too, that while some southern states have relatively strict firearms laws, these laws do not dramatically affect their homicide rates.³⁸ Furthermore, the assault rate is

³⁵ William McCord and Joan McCord, *Origins of Crime: A New Evaluation of the Cambridge-Somerville Youth Study* (New York, 1959), 172, 198.

³⁶ The source of Table V is a survey of national statistical sample by Opinion Research, Inc., for a Columbia Broadcasting System program, September 2, 1968.

³⁷ *New York Times*, July 25, 1968.

³⁸ Carl Bakal, *The Right to Bear Arms* (New York, 1966), 346-53.

extremely high in the South, indicating that southerners react with physical hostility even without guns.

A glance at Table IV reveals that for Negroes either the data are grossly skewed or there is little relationship between violence and the selected indexes of social welfare. The barest hint exists that, controlling for the selected factors, there is some explanatory value in sectionalism, a conclusion that has independent verification. Thomas F. Pettigrew and Rosalind Barclay Spier found that the major correlate of the Negro homicide rate in the North was the proportion of Negroes in a given area who had been born and raised in the South and that this was in addition to the effect of migration itself. It had long been known that homicide was much less frequent among northern than among southern Negroes; this finding suggests that violence in the South is a style of life that is handed down from father to son along with the old hunting rifle and the family Bible.³⁹

The great contribution to the discussion of southern violence made by Wilbur J. Cash in his book *The Mind of the South* was precisely that southern violence is part of a style of life that can only be explained historically.⁴⁰ According to Cash's own poetic and impressionistic rendering, violence grew up on the southern frontier as naturally as it grows up on any frontier. Violence was an integral part of the romantic, hedonistic, hell-of-a-fellow personality created by the absence of external restraint that is characteristic of a frontier. The cult of honor, with its insistence on the private settlement of disputes, was one manifestation of the radical individualism of the South, but there were other influences at work. The plantation, the most highly organized institution on the southern frontier, reinforced the tendency toward violence that had been initiated by the absence of organization. This was so, Cash argues, for two reasons: whites on the plantation exercised unrestrained dominance over blacks; and whites were generally raised by blacks and consequently were deeply influenced by the romantic and hedonistic Negro personality. Cash does not explicitly say what forces produced this Negro personality, but the implication is that it is fixed by the laws of genetics. But if the more likely position is taken that Negro and white personalities are shaped by environment and experience, then the reader is left with yet another Cashian paradox: violence in the white personality stems at the same time from the effect of being unrestrained and from imitating the Negro personality which was formed out of a situation of dependency and subordination.

³⁹ Thomas F. Pettigrew and Rosalind Barclay Spier, "The Ecological Structure of Negro Homicide," *American Journal of Sociology*, LXVII (May 1962), 621-29.

⁴⁰ Wilbur J. Cash, *The Mind of the South* (New York, 1940; Vintage ed., 1960), 32-34, 44-52, 76, 115-23, 161, 220, 424.

The mediating variable that brings together the various inconsistencies in Cash's explanation of how violence came to be established in the late ante bellum period as part of the southern personality may be the absence of law. Not disorganization nor individualism, not dominance nor submission, not lack of restraint—none of these forces played as important a role as the absence of institutions of law enforcement in compelling southerners to resort to the private settlement of disputes. Cash makes this explicit in his treatment of Reconstruction, the second frontier.

During Reconstruction, according to Cash, southern whites resorted to individual and collective violence because the courts were dominated by carpetbaggers and scalawags. Though this is logical, it is not consistent with Cash's earlier argument that the growth of law had been inhibited on the ante bellum frontier by the desire of southerners to provide their own justice. Apparently the direction of causation in the relationship between law and violence changes in accordance with the needs of Cash's interpretation.

Just as the first and second southern frontiers simultaneously promoted social solidarity and individualism, the third southern frontier, progress, changed the South in the direction of the American norm of Babbitry while at the same time accommodating continuity in the basic traits of the southern mind. A further paradox is involved in the impact of progress on the pattern of violence. Because violence originally arose from individualism, Cash says, the growth of towns should have brought a decrease in rates of violence. This decrease did not materialize because progress also brought poverty, and poverty destroys individualism. Cash argues in effect that individualism produced violence in the ante bellum period and the loss of individualism produced violence in the twentieth century.

Though Cash failed to formulate a coherent theory of southern violence, he did focus on two factors that are obvious possibilities as the chief motive forces of southern violence: the frontier experience and the presence of the Negro. The American frontier did spawn violence, but it seems improbable that the frontier could have much to do with the fact that in the twentieth century southern states on the eastern seaboard have much higher rates of violence than the nation at large. There is also considerable difficulty with the notion that the presence of large numbers of Negroes accounts for the great propensity of whites for violence. There is, in fact, little interracial homicide,⁴¹ and there is no reason to question John Dollard's hypothesis that Negroes murder and assault each other with such appalling frequency because of their daily frustrations in dealing with

⁴¹ Marvin E. Wolfgang, *Patterns in Criminal Homicide* (Philadelphia, 1958), 222-36.

white men. Because aggressions against whites would call forth extreme negative sanctions, frustrated Negroes transfer their aggressive feelings to other Negroes.⁴² If this is the case, it is difficult to see how high rates of violence among the dominant white group would also be attributed to the white-Negro relationship, especially when the presence of Negroes in the North is not accompanied by a proportionate rate of violence among the whites. It is also interesting that whites in South Africa who also experienced frontier conditions and a subordinate nonwhite population have a homicide-suicide ratio almost identical to the ratio for the American North but quite different from that of the South.

Subservience, rather than dominance, may be the condition that underlies a pattern of low SHR's. In his extremely popular book *The Wretched of the Earth*, Franz Fanon suggests that the oppressed status of a colonial people produces a pattern of aggressiveness directed against fellow colonials and a need to achieve manhood through violence. The task of revolutionaries is to mobilize the aggressive drives, provide them a sustaining ideology, and direct them against the oppressors.⁴³ Defeat in the Civil War and the South's resulting position as an economic dependency of the industrial Northeast qualify it for consideration as a violent colonial region. In addition to the difficulty of separating the effects of subservience from the effects of sheer underdevelopment, the problem with this line of reasoning is that the heroic myths created about the Lost Cause and the relatively early return of home rule after the Civil War may have mitigated the trauma of defeat and social dislocation. It would be difficult to maintain that the South's historical experience as a region is the equivalent of the sort of cultural conflict that leads to the loss of self-esteem, disrupts the processes of socialization, and initiates the cycle of self-crippling behavior within the subordinate group.⁴⁴ Furthermore, American Indians have responded to their experience of defeat and repression with higher rates of suicide and other intrapunitive behavior rather than with aggression against others. Similarly, while industrialization was transforming and disrupting its established folk culture, Harlan County, Kentucky, had the highest homicide rates in the country, but a study of community growth in New England finds suicide and depressive disorders highly correlated with the disruptive impact of geographic mobility.⁴⁵

⁴² John Dollard, *Caste and Class in a Southern Town* (3d ed., Garden City, N. Y., 1949), Chap. xiii.

⁴³ Franz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York, 1963).

⁴⁴ Thomas Stone *et al.*, "Poverty and the Individual," in *Poverty and Affluence*, ed. Leo Fishman (New Haven, Conn., 1966), 72-96.

⁴⁵ Paul Frederick Cressey, "Social Disorganization and Reorganization in Harlan County, Kentucky," *American Sociological Review*, XIV (June 1949), 389-94; Henry Wechsler, "Com-

Though the social sciences offer no clearly authenticated hypothesis that predicts the relationship in different populations between homicide and suicide rates,⁴⁶ there are some potentially illuminating investigations currently in progress. Assuming that depressed mental patients are people who have turned anger inward through introjection and guilt when under chronic stress, while paranoid patients are those who have turned anger outward through denial and projection, one study has found an interesting association between the pattern of intrafamily communication and the direction taken by mental pathology when it occurred. Depressed patients in this study came from families in which as children they were forced to try by themselves to attain the desired forms of behavior through positive, "ought" channels. Paranoid patients came from families in which they were forced into acceptable modes of behavior by negative "ought not" procedures.

In families of *depressed* patients the child comes to view his environment as non-threatening to him physically. It is something to be manipulated by him in order to bring about the desired effects that will win approval. There is directionality here, and it is *from* the child *toward* his environment. On the other hand, in families of paranoid patients the child comes to view his environment as having potentially harmful properties that he cannot control and that must be avoided in some way. Here the directionality is *from* the environment *toward* the child.⁴⁷

The hypothesis is that a manipulative attitude toward the environment will be associated with intrapunitive behavior and that a passive attitude toward the environment, with the absence of the internalization of a feeling of responsibility for the self, will be correlated with a greater use of projection in ego-defense.

There are firm indications that cultural patterning as well as child-rearing techniques will affect the perception of the environment and the orientation of the personality on the paranoia-depression continuum. In Burma, a hierarchical society in which a person's prestige and authority increase as he gets older, the social and physical environment is typically perceived as potentially harmful, and Burma has one of the highest homicide rates in the world.⁴⁸ There is also the possibility of a connection between the high rates of violence among Afro-Americans and the recent diagnosis

munity Growth, Depressive Disorders, and Suicide," *American Journal of Sociology*, LXVII (July 1961), 9-16.

⁴⁶ Jack O. Douglas, *The Social Meanings of Suicide* (Princeton, N. J., 1967), 3-160.

⁴⁷ Hazel M. Hitson and Daniel H. Funkenstein, "Family Patterns and Paranoid Personality Structure in Boston and Burma," *International Journal of Social Psychiatry*, V (Winter 1959).

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

that the Negro psyche has been rendered paranoiac by the hostile American environment.⁴⁹

Testing the hypothesis that a paranoid perception of the environment is the root cause of the pattern of violence in the white South is a problem for future scholarship. The most immediately useful technique would be a survey of attitudes toward violence, perceptions of the environment, feelings of personal efficacy, and other measures of alienation. There may be regional differentials in these categories as well as class, age, and sexual differentials. A rigorous comparison of rates of violence in perhaps a Kentucky county and an Ohio county at comparable stages of settlement is also a promising approach. The records of the county court, the reports of the state attorney general, and newspaper surveys might produce useful data on both individual and collective violence. Some effort must be made to determine when the South became violent; timing may reveal much about the relationship of slavery to violence. The possible effects of Scotch-Irish immigration, population density, temperature, and religious fundamentalism should be investigated with quantitative methods. Even though the SHR's of Australia and Canada fit the European mold, some insight may derive from pursuing such comparative cases in a detailed manner. Much can be done

Meanwhile, in the search for a valid explanation of southern violence the most fruitful avenue will probably be one that seeks to identify and trace the development of a southern world view that defines the social, political, and physical environment as hostile and casts the white southerner in the role of the passive victim of malevolent forces. When scholars locate the values that make up this world view and the process by which it was created and is transmitted, the history of the South will undoubtedly prove to have played a major role. The un-American experiences of guilt, defeat, and poverty will be major constituents of the relevant version of that history,⁵⁰ but perhaps they will not loom so large as the sense of grievance that is at the heart of the southern identity.

Southern self-consciousness was created by the need to protect a peculiar institution from threats originating outside the region. Consequently, the southern identity has been linked from the first to a siege mentality. Though southerners have many other identities, they are likely to be most conscious of being southerners when they are defending their region against attack from outside forces: abolitionists, the Union Army, carpetbaggers, Wall Street and Pittsburgh, civil rights agitators, the federal government, feminism, socialism, trade-unionism, Darwinism, Communism, atheism,

⁴⁹ William H. Grier and Price M. Cobbs, *Black Rage* (New York, 1968).

⁵⁰ Woodward, *Burden of Southern History*, 3-26.

daylight-saving time, and other by-products of modernity. This has produced an extreme sensitivity to criticism from outsiders and a tendency to excuse local faults as the products of forces beyond human or local control. If the South was poor, it was because the Yankees stole all the family silver and devastated the region in other ways after the Civil War. If industrialization seemed inordinately slow in the South, it was because of a conspiracy of northern capitalists to maintain the region as an economic colony. Added to this experience with perceived threats has been the fact that almost every significant change in the life of the South has been initiated by external powers. This is even true of industrialization. Though there was a fervent native movement to sponsor industrialization, absentee ownership has been characteristic. Furthermore, the real qualitative change in the southern pattern of low-wage industry came as a result of World War II and the activities of the federal government.

Being southern, then, inevitably involves a feeling of persecution at times and a sense of being a passive, insignificant object of alien or impersonal forces. Such a historical experience has fostered a world view that supports the denial of responsibility and locates threats to the region outside the region and threats to the person outside the self. From the southern past arise the symbiosis of profuse hospitality and intense hostility toward strangers and the paradox that the southern heritage is at the same time one of grace and violence.

Racial Segregation in Ante Bellum New Orleans

ROGER A. FISCHER

THE search for the roots of racial segregation has occupied the attention of scholars since the appearance of C. Vann Woodward's *The Strange Career of Jim Crow* in 1955. Interpreting the "separate but equal" legislation enacted by the southern states after 1887 as a fundamental turning point in the region's race relations, Woodward wrote of the "relative recency" of segregation and claimed that to identify the system with the ante bellum South was "to forget the nature of relations between races under the old regime."¹ In a new introduction to a 1957 edition, Woodward carefully qualified his thesis by admitting the antiquity of white supremacist thought, the proscriptions imposed upon free Negroes before the Civil War, and the exclusion of Negroes from many public facilities after Appomattox. But his central premise remained resolute, that "the era of genuine segregation was yet to come—the era when the principle was consciously and deliberately applied to all possible areas of contact between the races, and when the code became a hard-and-fast dogma of the white race."²

The theory that racial segregation had been developed during a "capitulation to racism" after 1887 won wide acceptance among historians eager to discredit the antiquity of the system. Some scholars carried the Woodward thesis to extremes, ignoring the cautious qualifications of its creator and neglecting altogether the period before the Civil War. A textbook on post-bellum southern history published in 1963 informed its readers that during the ante bellum period "the circumstances which later gave rise to the segregation codes could not exist."³ Another scholar, writing an interpretation of *Plessy v. Ferguson* in 1963, set forth the blanket assertion that "Racial segregation in the Old South had been unknown."⁴ As late as 1966 a third

► Mr. Fischer received his Ph.D. from Tulane University in 1967; he worked there under Charles P. Roland. He is now an assistant professor at Sam Houston State College, and his major field of interest is nineteenth-century southern history. He is the author of "A Pioneer Protest: The New Orleans Street-car Controversy of 1867," *Journal of Negro History*, LIII (July 1968).

¹ C. Vann Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow* (New York, 1955), 13-14.

² *Ibid.* (Galaxy ed., New York, 1957), xvii.

³ John Samuel Ezell, *The South since 1865* (New York, 1963), 184.

⁴ Barton J. Bernstein, "Plessy v. Ferguson: Conservative Sociological Jurisprudence," *Journal of Negro History*, XLVIII (July 1963), 200.

historian stated categorically that the segregation system "did not spring directly from slavery or from the timeworn customs of many generations."⁵

The logic that lay behind this assumption was compelling. In an agricultural society composed of masters and slaves, racial segregation would have been not only impossible but unnecessary, for slavery was in itself the supreme segregator. The iron discipline, rigid routine, and absolute authority that were combined to preserve plantation order were their own means of racial control, rendering any secondary reminders of the color line superfluous. Since familiarity on the plantation carried with it no possible inference of racial equality, the masters and their families often joined in such festivities among the slaves as weddings and banquets. As Ellen Betts, raised a slave in Louisiana's Teche country, fondly remembered, "When the work slight, us black folks sure have the balls and dinners and such. We git all day to barbecue meat down on the bayou, and the white folks come down and eat 'longside the colored."⁶ In a rural setting where whites and Negroes lived in virtually a total state of interdependence, formal race separation would have been an absurdity, hindering daily routine and serving no possible purpose. In their assumption that rural plantation slavery and formal segregation could not have existed side by side, Woodward and his disciples were substantially correct.

The fundamental flaw in this line of reasoning was that it greatly oversimplified the role of the Negro before the Civil War. In 1860 more than 220,000 free Negroes resided in the North, beyond the pale of the slavery system altogether. Another 260,000 free people of color lived in the South, congregating in sizable communities in the major cities.⁷ A substantial number of southern slaves were owned by urban masters and kept in conditions vastly different from those prevailing on the rural farms and plantations.⁸ Investigating these exceptions, other scholars engaged in the search for the origins of Jim Crow sharply challenged the "relative recency" of his birth. Leon F. Litwack's seminal study of Negroes in the ante bellum North reported that racial segregation was widespread, systematic, and rigid in the "freedom land" across the Ohio.⁹ V. Jacque Voegeli found abundant evidence of similar patterns in the Old Northwest during his investigation

⁵ *The Age of Civil War and Reconstruction, 1830-1900: A Book of Interpretive Essays*, ed. Charles Crowe (Homewood, Ill., 1966), 439.

⁶ Quoted in *Lay My Burden Down: A Folk History of Slavery*, ed. B. A. Botkin (Chicago, 1945), 128.

⁷ John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of American Negroes* (2d rev. ed., New York, 1956), 215.

⁸ Nearly 77,000 Negro slaves were kept in the ten largest southern cities in 1850, according to census figures for that year.

⁹ Leon F. Litwack, *North of Slavery: The Negro in the Free States, 1790-1860* (Chicago, 1961).

of racial attitudes in that region during the Civil War.¹⁰ Richard C. Wade's study of slavery in ante bellum southern cities demonstrated that racial segregation had existed side by side with the "peculiar institution" where personal racial control had been weakened by the complexities of urban slavery.¹¹ These investigations offered convincing evidence that Jim Crow was not the child of the era of Pitchfork Tillman.¹²

Segregation first developed formally in the ante bellum cities, North and South, where the complexities of urban life and the anonymous nature of the city population made a mockery of the personal supervision of racial relationships that had prevailed in the country. On the farms and plantations, where the roles of master and slave were absolute, interracial contacts did not endanger the great caste barriers on which the sovereignty of the white race rested. But in the cities, where whites and Negroes were brought together frequently as total strangers, white supremacy and black subordination were neither automatic nor implicit. Such basic functions as dining, drinking, entertainment, and travel became public and institutional with the development of restaurants, taverns, theaters, and public conveyances. In the cities interracial contact was eliminated by the whites in order to preserve the distinctions of caste among strangers. Urban segregation often developed hand in hand with the decline of personal racial control and the rise of public accommodations.

Such was the case in New Orleans, the largest and most cosmopolitan city in the lower South. Very old by western standards, the city already had highly developed public accommodations when it became a part of the United States in 1803. A great port city linking the Mississippi River Valley with the commerce of the world, New Orleans continually played host to thousands of transients from all corners of the globe. Its resident white population was a veritable potpourri of native Creoles, rural southerners, Yankees, Germans, French, Irish, and others.¹³

The Negro slaves, 23,448 of them in 1840, enjoyed conditions far different from those prevailing in the surrounding rural regions. Domestic servants were given many of the duties of household management, including mar-

¹⁰ V. Jacque Voegeli, *Free But Not Equal: The Midwest and the Negro during the Civil War* (Chicago, 1967).

¹¹ Richard C. Wade, *Slavery in the Cities: The South, 1820-1860* (New York, 1964), 266-77.

¹² In *The Strange Career of Jim Crow* (2d rev. ed., New York, 1966), Woodward defended his emphasis on the importance of the Jim Crow laws and reiterated his opinion that a "capitulation to racism" in the 1890's produced a segregation system much more rigid and harsh than anything that had existed before that time. But he acknowledged the contributions of Litwack, Wade, and others and gave a new importance to ante bellum and Reconstruction segregation practices as steppingstones to the Jim Crowism of the 1890's.

¹³ Robert C. Reinders, *End of an Era: New Orleans, 1850-1860* (New Orleans, 1964), 17-20.

keting and other missions that allowed them to roam about the streets of the city, as the New Orleans *Bee* complained in 1835, "at liberty to purchase what they please, and where they please, without the personal inspection of any member of the family."¹⁴ Many slaves worked as carpenters, longshoremen, draymen, factoryworkers, and mechanics. Along with the free Negroes, they monopolized the market and vending trades.¹⁵ The complexities of these tasks brought liberties and responsibilities unknown to rural slaves. Nearly all New Orleans slaves came into contact with whites who were not masters and Negroes who were not slaves; nearly all enjoyed a generous measure of personal freedom unheard of on the farms and plantations.

The most independent of all New Orleans slaves were those whose labor was "hired-out."¹⁶ This system, designed to meet urban demands for a fluid labor supply within the bounds of slavery, allowed a prospective employer to rent the services of another man's slave. In some cases, these slaves saw nothing of their masters except periodically to turn over a stipulated portion of their earnings. Many of them rented their own dwellings and lived virtually free from the whites. The New Orleans *Daily Picayune* was hardly exaggerating in 1859 when it bemoaned their liberty "to engage in business on their own account, to live according to the suggestions of their own fancy, to be idle or industrious, as the inclination for one or the other prevailed, provided only the monthly wages are regularly gained."¹⁷ In many instances, all that separated these slaves from total independence was the academic matter of their legal status.

Adding to the unique diversity of ante bellum New Orleans society was a community of free people of color that numbered nearly twenty thousand at its peak in 1840.¹⁸ Unlike most of the free Negroes in the rural regions, who eked out pitiful existences at the sufferance of ever-wary whites, the New Orleans *gens de couleur* exercised a wide latitude of liberties. Strikingly diverse, their community contained moneylenders and mendicants, brokers and bootblacks, poets and prostitutes.¹⁹ Separated from the slaves by their legal status and set apart from the whites by the color of

¹⁴ New Orleans *Bee*, Oct. 13, 1835.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*; Werner A. Wegener, "Negro Slavery in New Orleans," master's thesis, Tulane University, 1935, 58-60.

¹⁶ An excellent summary of this practice is found in Wade, *Slavery in the Cities*, 38-54.

¹⁷ New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, Jan. 27, 1859.

¹⁸ Their numbers declined from 19,226 in 1840 to 10,689 in 1860, owing primarily to emigrations provoked by a series of proscriptive laws aimed at them during the 1840's and 1850's.

¹⁹ The best description of their attainments is found in Donald E. Everett, "Free Persons of Color in New Orleans, 1803-1865," doctoral dissertation, Tulane University, 1952, 203-25. For a highly biased account, see Charles B. Rousseve, *The Negro in Louisiana: Aspects of His History and His Literature* (New Orleans, 1937), 49-91.

their skin, the free Negroes of New Orleans added a third dimension to the complex racial structure of the city.

Attitudes of the slaves and free Negroes reflected the unusual scope of freedom they enjoyed. As one student of ante bellum New Orleans society observed, Negro behavior was "singularly free of that deference and circumspection which might have been expected in a slave community."²⁰ In 1806 the legislature of the Territory of Orleans, perhaps indulging in a little wishful thinking, adopted a statute forbidding free Negroes and slaves from presuming themselves "equal to the white."²¹ Seldom has a law been more universally disregarded. To judge from complaints in the newspapers, Negro insolence toward whites was common, particularly on the banquettes in front of the numerous taverns that catered illegally but openly to the Negro trade.²² Mourning the decline of racial discipline in 1859, the New Orleans *Daily Picayune* complained that the Negroes "have become intemperate, disorderly, and have lost the respect which the servant should entertain for the master."²³

In crime as in demeanor, New Orleans Negroes, free and slave, made a mockery of the "Sambo" stereotype. Petty pilferage was common here as elsewhere, but the more resourceful black thieves stole horses, picked pockets, embezzled, swindled, and executed daring armed robberies.²⁴ Negroes assaulted whites with pistols, knives, clubs, rocks, barrel staves, brickbats, broken bottles, water buckets, horsewhips, cold chisels, and billiard cues.²⁵ In rare cases, free Negroes and slaves even defied the ultimate taboo of a white supremacist society by raping white women and girls.²⁶ These assaults on person and property constantly reminded white New Orleanians that theirs was not an order in which they commanded and the Negroes instinctively and meekly obeyed.

Control over the Negro population was, in short, virtually nonexistent in New Orleans. The personal system of race discipline that worked so well in the rural areas simply could not function in an urban amalgam of absentee owners, indifferent strangers, and unusually sophisticated free Negroes and slaves. As the system died, the burden of maintaining the social dis-

²⁰ Joseph G. Tregle, Jr., "Early New Orleans Society: A Reappraisal," *Journal of Southern History*, XVIII (Feb. 1952), 33.

²¹ Quoted in Everett, "Free Persons of Color in New Orleans," 167.

²² New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, Dec. 24, 1849, Jan. 3, Feb. 3, 1850, Apr. 1, 1855; New Orleans *Bee*, July 2, 1836, June 22, 1855.

²³ New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, Jan. 27, 1859.

²⁴ New Orleans *Bee*, Sept. 30, Oct. 12, 1835, July 1, 1855; New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, Jan. 16, Mar. 1, 5, 1850, Jan. 14, 16, Feb. 13, 1855.

²⁵ New Orleans *Bee*, Sept. 30, 1835, July 12, 1853, July 1, 1855; New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, Feb. 6, Mar. 1, 1850, Jan. 14, 16, Mar. 8, July 19, Aug. 10, Sept. 27, Nov. 3, 1855, July 13, 1858.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, Nov. 11, 1854, June 2, 3, 1855.

inctions of white supremacy fell increasingly on a public color line, first practiced in the city's municipal facilities and places of public accommodation. If urban conditions had made the law of the lash obsolete, it was hoped that segregation of Negroes in public places would constantly remind them of their lowly station in society.

Theaters and public exhibitions were legally segregated by an ordinance adopted on June 8, 1816, that forbade "any white person to occupy any of the places set apart for people of color; and the latter are likewise forbidden to occupy any of those reserved for white persons."²⁷ This edict merely ratified a long-standing policy of the management, for most exhibition halls and theaters had for many years segregated their customers by allocating rear sections or galleries for their Negro patrons. When Bernardo Coquet remodeled his ballroom into the St. Philip Street Theatre in 1810, he included in his alterations the construction of a tier of "upper boxes for women of color."²⁸ These galleries soon became known as "nigger heavens," a term that survived in the common vernacular for a century and a half, until the practice itself was finally abandoned.

Of all such seating arrangements, the one that attracted the most attention from visitors was the gallery that accommodated the free Negro aristocracy in the French Opera House. Thomas Low Nichols, the English food faddist and spiritualist, interpreted the "nigger heaven" as something of a victory for the free Negroes, referring to their gallery as "the portion of the house devoted to ladies and gentlemen of colour, . . . into which no common white trash was allowed to intrude."²⁹ But other visitors viewed the arrangement differently. The English geologist Sir Charles Lyell made reference to the economic and cultural attainments of the *gens de couleur* confined to the gallery and denounced their ostracism as a "tyranny of caste."³⁰ The Hungarian traveler Ferencz A. Pulszky agreed. Fascinated by the paradox inherent in the social position of the free Negro elite, he observed: "Some of them were pointed out to me as very wealthy, but no money can admit them to the pit, or to the boxes."³¹

²⁷ John Calhoun, *Digest of the Ordinances and Resolutions of the Second Municipality of New Orleans, in Force May 1, 1840* (New Orleans, 1840), 144; Perry S. Warfield, *Digest of the Acts of the Legislature and Decisions of the Supreme Court of Louisiana Relative to the General Council of the City of New Orleans, Together with the Ordinances and Resolutions of the Former City Council, and the General Council of the City of New Orleans, in Force on the First of August, 1848* (New Orleans, 1848), 129.

²⁸ Quoted in Henry A. Kmen, "The Music of New Orleans," in *The Past as Prelude: New Orleans, 1718-1968*, ed. Hodding Carter (New Orleans, 1968), 217.

²⁹ Thomas Low Nichols, *Forty Years of American Life, 1821-1861* (New York, 1937), 355-56.

³⁰ Sir Charles Lyell, *A Second Visit to the United States of North America* (2 vols., New York, 1849), II, 94.

³¹ Ferencz Pulszky and Theresa Pulszky, *White, Red, Black Sketches of American Society in the United States during the Visit of Their Guests* (2 vols., New York, 1853), II, 101.

The races were also segregated in the more lowly public pursuits. The city jails kept white and Negro prisoners in separate quarters and dressed them in different colored uniforms. On August 11, 1836, the city council extended the racial distinction to labor details by adopting an ordinance requiring free Negroes and slaves confined for more than three days to be put to work "cleaning and repairing the streets and public roads or levees, or on any other public work,"³² apparently exempting the white prisoners from such duties.

Streetcar segregation, not required by city law, was practiced as company policy from the time the cars were placed in service in New Orleans in the 1820's. A few of the omnibus lines excluded Negroes altogether, but others operated special cars for colored passengers, identified by large stars painted on the front, rear, and both sides to avoid confusion.³³ This practice gave rise to local use of the term "star" to denote all varieties of segregated Negro facilities, much as the label "Jim Crow" would later be adopted throughout the United States a half century later.

White restaurants and saloons were strictly segregated by local custom and management policies, as they were throughout the ante bellum South.³⁴ Hotels were also off limits to Negroes, but exceptions were made for the personal attendants of the white guests. None of the local private clubs and local chapters of national fraternal organizations admitted Negroes to membership. By the beginning of the Civil War, the free Negroes who sought club membership and could pay for the privilege had already formed a large number of lodges and benevolent societies of their own.³⁵

Education for free Negroes developed in a similar way. Excluded from the white private schools in New Orleans since early in the eighteenth century, the children of the *gens de couleur* were also denied admission into the new public-school system that developed in the city in the 1840's. Forced to fall back upon their own resources, the free Negroes instituted and supported a large number of private schools, varying from exclusive academies in the best continental tradition to such charity schools as the *École des Orphelins Indigents*, generously endowed by Aristide Marie, Thomy Lafon, and other free Negro philanthropists.³⁶

The Charity Hospital of Louisiana, located in New Orleans, opened its doors to sick whites and Negroes alike, but segregated the races within the institution. It served the medical needs of a great international seaport; in

³² Calhoun, *Digest of the Ordinances*, 253; Wade, *Slavery in the Cities*, 268.

³³ New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, Nov. 9, 1864.

³⁴ Wade, *Slavery in the Cities*, 266-67.

³⁵ Everett, "Free Persons of Color in New Orleans," 258.

³⁶ *Ibid.*; Betty Porter, "The History of Negro Education in Louisiana," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, XXV (July 1942), 731.

1859 its patients were described as being "of every age and sex, of every color, from the blue-eyed, fair-browed Anglo-American, to the tawn, sun-browned child of the Tropics."³⁷ In the ante bellum period, before increasing Negro admissions led to entirely separate wings for whites and Negroes, segregation was accomplished by separate wards for the two races. On the eve of the Civil War, Charity Hospital was operating three of its eleven surgical wards for the care of Negro patients.³⁸

In pre-Civil War New Orleans the color line extended to the grave. On March 5, 1835, a long-standing local practice was written into law when the city council adopted an ordinance zoning the city's cemeteries into three sections, allotting one-half of the space for whites, one-fourth for slaves, and one-fourth for free Negroes.³⁹ Six years later segregation in cemeteries was carried a step further by an ordinance requiring separate burial registration lists for whites and Negroes.⁴⁰

Segregation in public pursuits was applied thoroughly throughout the ante bellum period. Free Negroes and slaves were systematically excluded from white accommodations and social activities and were relegated to separate and usually second-class quarters in the public facilities to which they were admitted. The system achieved its immediate purpose quite well, for it removed any danger that unwilling whites would be forced to surrender the social prerogatives of the master race by mingling with Negroes in public places. But it had its limitations. While the segregation system prevented Negroes from crossing the color line and participating in white activities and using white facilities, it was virtually powerless to prevent whites who so desired from mixing freely with Negroes in colored taverns, bawdyhouses, and dance halls. In these clandestine pursuits, the color line broke down completely.

The innumerable taverns or "grog shops" catering illegally but openly to Negroes frequently brought the races together in the brotherhood of John Barleycorn. According to shocked complaints in the newspapers, it was quite common for white men and boys to frequent these Negro saloons "to revel and dance . . . for whole nights with a lot of men and women of saffron color, or quite black, either slave or free."⁴¹ According to the "city intelligence" column of the *Daily Picayune*, one such "intolerable nuisance"

³⁷ Quoted in A. E. Fossier, *The Charity Hospital of Louisiana* (New Orleans, 1923), 30.

³⁸ Stella O'Connor, "The Charity Hospital at New Orleans: An Administrative and Financial History, 1736-1941," master's thesis, Tulane University, 1947, 94.

³⁹ Grace Elizabeth King, *New Orleans: The Place and the People* (New York, 1895), 399; Wade, *Slavery in the Cities*, 270-71.

⁴⁰ *A Digest of Ordinances and Resolutions of the General Council of the City of New Orleans* (New Orleans, 1845), 6.

⁴¹ Quoted in Kmen, "Music of New Orleans," 214.

on the corner of Baronne and Perdido Streets nightly entertained "a mixed assemblage of slaves, free negroes, and disreputable whites of both sexes."⁴² In these taverns, in private rooms, and in back alleys, whites and Negroes often congregated over a deck of cards or a pair of dice.⁴³

Men and women in search of sexual pleasures commonly made a mockery of the color line. The practice of *placage*, the more or less permanent arrangements between white men and free women of color, was fairly widespread.⁴⁴ Far more common, however, were the momentary dalliances between whites and Negroes in the more tawdry brothels and "cribs." Although the majority of these interracial affairs consisted of Negro prostitutes entertaining white men, some of the bawdyhouses offered white and colored women to all customers, regardless of race.⁴⁵ One such establishment next to the home of United States Senator Pierre Soulé on Basin Street annoyed the august lawmaker so much that he filed a complaint against the bordello "where whites and blacks meet indiscriminately" and "make the night the accomplice of their vices and the time for their hellish amusements."⁴⁶

Liaisons between Negro men and white women beyond the pale of prostitution occasionally occurred. Many of these were thoroughly sordid affairs, like that of the white woman and free Negro man arrested in 1855 for "carrying the depravity of Dauphine street even beyond its recognized extent."⁴⁷ Others gave every indication of true and lasting affection. A white woman, arrested in 1852 for living with a runaway slave, held in her arms "a mulatto male child, about two years of age," on whom she reportedly bestowed "all the endearments of a mother."⁴⁸ Whatever the circumstances, these liaisons between white women and Negro men defied the most sensitive taboo of a white supremacist society.

Many white New Orleanians feared that the very foundations of their social order were endangered by these transgressions of the color line. The Negroes, they reasoned, would hardly stand in awe of the master race if they danced and drank and gambled with whites or even on rare occasion enjoyed the favors of a white woman. This surreptitious mixing of the races, moreover, posed a real danger to the institution of slavery. Not only would

⁴² New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, Apr. 1, 1855.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, June 12, 1852, Feb. 20, June 10, 1855; Reinders, *End of an Era*, 165.

⁴⁴ The intricacies of these alliances are discussed in Everett, "Free Persons of Color in New Orleans," 202-209.

⁴⁵ New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, June 30, July 1, 18, Aug. 7, 1855; New Orleans *Bee*, July 14, 1853; Reinders, *End of an Era*, 166; Herbert Asbury, *The French Quarter: An Informal History of the New Orleans Underworld* (New York, 1938), 388.

⁴⁶ New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, Aug. 7, 1855.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, June 30, July 1, 1855.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, July 24, 1852.

such clandestine contacts with whites "corrupt" the slaves, but they also offered ideal opportunities for white *provocateurs* to spread the insidious doctrines of abolitionism among the servile population.

The first attack upon transgressions against the color line was aimed at the quadroom balls, by all accounts the most celebrated of all interracial activities carried on in the city. Free Negro balls had attracted large numbers of eager white men since the colonial period, but the quadroom ball was born in 1805, when a dance hall proprietor named Auguste Tessier began holding balls twice a week limited to white men and free Negro women. The experiment proved enormously successful, and the quadroom ball was soon established as one of New Orleans' major attractions. White men flocked to the balls for easy sex, for an introduction that might lead to a *placage*, or simply for the pleasure of an evening of dancing.

But the quadroom balls soon collected a host of implacable enemies. Strait-laced critics mourned the decline of morality, and guardians of the color line prophesied the collapse of white supremacy. White women, enraged when their escorts neglected "the white privets to gather black grapes,"⁴⁹ clamored for the elimination of the balls. Apparently the members of the city council agreed or found it impossible to withstand the feminine fury, for they adopted an ordinance on January 4, 1828, forbidding white men, with or without masks, from attending "dressed or masked balls composed of men and women of color."⁵⁰ The decree, however, did little to dampen the enthusiasm for the balls. No serious efforts were made to enforce it, and the city council abandoned its attempts to legislate against interracial amusements for nearly thirty years.

During the 1850's the intensifying sectional controversy brought renewed efforts to curb contacts between whites and Negroes. As tensions mounted and forebodings of conspiracies against the peculiar institution became a southern fixation, white New Orleanians grew increasingly suspicious of all activities that brought whites and Negroes together. These fears found expression in a series of new segregation laws aimed directly at those pursuits that most flagrantly defied the conventions of the color line. A pair of ordinances passed in December 1856 and January 1857 tried to eliminate interracial gambling in Negro taverns. The measure enacted on December 13, 1856, prohibited proprietors of taverns and coffeehouses from letting "white persons and colored persons . . . play cards together, or any other game in their house."⁵¹ If such activities came to the attention of the au-

⁴⁹ Quoted in Kmen, "Music of New Orleans," 214.

⁵⁰ Calhoun, *Digest of the Ordinances*, 128; Warfield, *Digest of the Acts*, 145.

⁵¹ Henry J. Leovy, *The Laws and General Ordinances of the City of New Orleans, Together with the Acts of the Legislature, Decisions of the Supreme Court, and Constitutional Provisions, Relating to the City Government* (New Orleans, 1857), 46.

thorities, the unfortunate barkeeper could be fined as much as one hundred dollars. The companion decree, adopted three weeks later, set the punishments for the participants. Whites and free Negroes could be fined from twenty-five to one hundred dollars, and slaves were to be assessed fifteen lashes.⁵² An ordinance passed on March 10, 1857, outlawed mixed bawdy-houses: it prohibited white and colored women "notoriously abandoned to lewdness" from living in the same dwelling and also prohibited free Negroes from lodging white prostitutes.⁵³

After Louisiana left the Union and the hostilities began, rampant fears that slaves, free Negroes, and white strangers might be enemy agents in their midst led white New Orleanians to still greater surveillance of interracial contacts. The results occasionally assumed absurd proportions. In May 1861 Dr. Thomas Jinnings, a prominent free Negro physician and Sunday-school teacher, took his wife to a charity fair sponsored by the white Episcopal church with which his Sunday school was affiliated. Jinnings was promptly arrested and formally charged with "intruding [*sic*] himself among the white congregation . . . and conducting hisself [*sic*] in a manner unbecoming the free colored population of this city, and in a manner to create insubordination among the servile population of this State."⁵⁴ Jinnings was released and the charges dropped only after several white parishioners testified that the doctor had behaved well and that he and his wife had been invited to the affair by one of the white ladies of the congregation.

Many New Orleans Negroes bitterly resented the segregation codes and practices that defined their lowly station in virtually every aspect of their public lives. In 1833 a group of Negro men bound for Lake Pontchartrain led an armed attack on a white streetcar that had refused to carry them.⁵⁵ But expressions of their discontent were largely limited to such sporadic outbursts, for they lacked the power to do anything else.

With the collapse of the old regime, however, New Orleans Negroes expressed their resentments more forcefully. Shortly after the city fell to the Federals in 1862, free Negro leaders mounted a campaign against the color line that rocked the segregation system to its very foundations before the campaign finally collapsed fifteen years later. A massive Negro demonstration led to the desegregation of city streetcars in May 1867.⁵⁶ New Orleans Negro representatives led the successful campaigns in the constitutional convention of 1867-1868 that wrote desegregation of public accommodations and public

⁵² *Ibid.*, 260-61.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 378.

⁵⁴ *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, May 30, 1861.

⁵⁵ *New Orleans Argus*, Aug. 1, 1833, as quoted in *Niles Register*, Aug. 24, 1833.

⁵⁶ *New Orleans Daily Crescent*, May 7, 8, 10, 1867; *New Orleans Times*, May 5, 7, 1867; *New Orleans Tribune*, May 4, 7, 9, 1867; *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, May 7, 8, 1867.

schools into the law of Louisiana.⁵⁷ A number of Negro boys and girls studied in white New Orleans public schools from 1871 to 1877, and a few of their elders sat in white theater boxes, ate in white restaurants, and drank in white saloons during the same period.⁵⁸ The drive to destroy the New Orleans color line persisted for fifteen years and finally collapsed when the Federal soldiers were withdrawn and the state Republican regime became a casualty of national reconciliation.

The Democratic redeemers who came to power in 1877 lost no time in redefining the Negro's "place" in Louisiana life. They immediately restored the color line in the New Orleans public schools and offered silent support to *de facto* segregation practices in places of public accommodation.⁵⁹ With the assistance of two landmark decisions by the United States Supreme Court, the redeemers soon dismantled the egalitarian legal apparatus put together piece by piece under the Radicals.⁶⁰ Finally in 1890 they began to write their "final solution" into Louisiana law with a series of "separate but equal" statutes. Soon New Orleans Negroes were again segregated in virtually every public pursuit.

The new segregation code was not an exact duplicate of its predecessor, for the two systems differed in scope and origin. The newer segregation was written into state law and was designed to preserve racial distances throughout Louisiana, while the code that developed in New Orleans before the Civil War had been purely local in its scope and influence. The ante bellum "star" system had been fashioned in an era alarmed by threats to its peculiar institution, while the "Jim Crow" code of the 1890's was put together by men who carried with them the bitter memories of Radical Reconstruction. But the results were strikingly similar: both systems effected a thoroughgoing separation of the races and the visible subordination of the New Orleans Negroes in nearly every area of public activity. If the ante bellum code proved less than a "final solution" to race relationships in its day, it provided a remarkable preview to a later segregation system put forth as the ultimate defense of white supremacy a half century later.

⁵⁷ *Official Journal of the Proceedings of the Convention, for Framing a Constitution for the State of Louisiana* (New Orleans, 1867-68), 4, 17, 27, 35, 60-61, 121-22, 125, 201.

⁵⁸ For school desegregation, see Louis R. Harlan, "Desegregation in New Orleans Public Schools during Reconstruction," *American Historical Review*, LXVII (Apr. 1962), 663-75. For a discussion of efforts to desegregate the city's public accommodations, see Roger A. Fischer, "The Segregation Struggle in Louisiana, 1850-1890," doctoral dissertation, Tulane University, 1967, 63-98.

⁵⁹ *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, June 27, Dec. 6, 1877.

⁶⁰ The Democrats replaced the 1868 Constitution with a new one in 1879 that ignored altogether the color line in schools and public accommodations. The Supreme Court nullified the state Enforcement Act of 1860 in *Hall v. De Cuir*, 95 US 485 (1878) and struck down the federal Civil Rights Act of 1875 in the Civil Rights Cases, 109 US 3 (1883).

* * * * *Reviews of Books* * * * *

General

CONTINUITY IN HISTORY AND OTHER ESSAYS. By *Alexander Gerschenkron*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1968. Pp. x, 545. \$10.00.)

ALEXANDER Gerschenkron has brought together a second volume of his smaller writings, including some of his more important book reviews, to show how they relate to his greater themes. This "companion volume" to *Economic Backwardness in Historical Perspective* (1962) is perhaps a bit less useful, but it is equally brilliant. Like the first, this volume contains many different sorts of statements bearing more or less directly on the four reasons why Gerschenkron is so important to us: his "great spurt" concept of the relations between rapid industrialization and relative backwardness; his tension thesis, that a dictatorship must dictate or decay and that therefore we are not seeing, nor can we expect, gradual and peaceful changes in the basic nature of Soviet government or its policy of superindustrialism; his insistence on methodology and general knowledge adequate to the problem studied, that is, his deflation of those economic historians not as competent in theory and history as he is; and his demonstration that insights for social scientists can be found in philosophy and literature.

Space allotted to this review does not allow a proper appreciation of this collection's significance. Nor does it permit the "penetrating, thought-provoking disagreement" Gerschenkron laments not finding in reviews of *Economic Backwardness*. Perhaps the best I can do is list the main entries and say: buy it. For all but the dullest, it is a feast of information and concepts in the form of sharp intellectual challenges. It is a highly personal form of communication between scholar and reader. Gerschenkron's hard sell leaves little room for noncombatants. Those selections I would label vintage Gerschenkron include his "Changeability of a Dictatorship" (1962), perhaps the most complete statement of his tension thesis; his "Stability of Dictatorships" (1963), an exploration of the general implications of the tension thesis; his second round in the debate with Rosario Romeo over the role of agriculture in capital formation for Italian industrialization; his overkill of Vladimir Nabokov's translation of *Eugene Onegin*; his statement on current trends in economic history methodology, which includes parts of his presidential address delivered to the Economic History Association in 1967; his elegant, pioneering study of the various meanings of historical continuity; and his definitive account of the abolition of Russian serfdom and the role played in the causes and effects of this change by agrarian policy, reprinted from the *Cambridge Economic History of Europe*. The social scientist, says Gerschenkron, "must first of all *learn to listen* to the objects of his study." It is a pleasure to listen to one who listens very well indeed.

University of Pennsylvania

MARTIN WOLFE

THE USES OF HISTORY: ESSAYS IN INTELLECTUAL AND SOCIAL HISTORY PRESENTED TO WILLIAM J. BOSSENBROOK. Compiled and edited by *Hayden V. White*. With a foreword by *Alfred H. Kelly*. (Detroit: Wayne State University Press. 1968. Pp. 285. \$7.95.)

THIS book is a *Festschrift*, and, as is the case with most such books, the editor has had to struggle with the problem of unifying the more or less disparate essays. Professor White has bravely bridged the gaps with the broad theme of "this mutual involvement of thought and action . . . of historical consciousness and social existence." Yet the true unity within this and other similar collections lies in the fact that all the essays are tributes of respect and gratitude to a beloved teacher and colleague.

More precisely, we are told that most of the essays are concerned with "historicism," which is here defined as "a world-view in which the historical process itself, whatever the specific nature ascribed to it, is conceived to furnish the prime motive power of human activities." Inasmuch as historicism is also seen as developing in response to the breakdown of "conventional theological and metaphysical conceptions of the world process" during the nineteenth century, it is not surprising that John Weiss's essay on "Adam Smith and the Philosophy of Anti-History" should have been chosen to head the collection and to set the tone. Adam Smith appears as a major contributor to the erection of a false or antihistorical consciousness that has dominated the last several generations and has been a main reason for the present generation's being "intellectually adrift" and urgently in need of a "truly historical consciousness," which historians should bend all of their efforts to create.

Professor White's own stimulating essay on "Romanticism, Historicism, and Realism" probes the relationships of this "family of concepts," leaving us with the feeling that he is nostalgic about realism and anxious about a modern age of "foreclosure" on such ideas. Aaron Noland's "History and Humanity: The Proudhonian Version" covers one outstanding example of the view that man must henceforth take upon himself "the burden of history," while Milton Covensky's penetrating article on "Hintze and the Legacy of Ranke" shows how Ranke's "legacy" of thought was altered and made "useful" in ways that Ranke would have scarcely have wanted or approved. These essays, along with Berthold Riesterer's study of "Karl Löwith's Anti-Historicism," fit most easily into the general theme that has been indicated.

Other essays deal with more purely philosophical aspects of the theme, with ideas in art, history, and political action. Of the last group, the essay by John Cammett, "Antonio Gramsci: Marxism and the Italian Intellectual Tradition," and that by H. D. Harootunian, "From Principle to Principal: Restoration and Emperorship in Japan," interestingly illustrate the uses of history for political change.

Because of the variety of the subjects treated, many different scholars will find items of interest here, but those likely to find it most useful are the historiographers.

University of Toronto

RICHARD M. SAUNDERS

FORCE, ORDER, AND JUSTICE. By Robert E. Osgood and Robert W. Tucker.
(Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1967. Pp. viii, 374. \$10.00.)

THIS searching study by two well-known authors is concerned with force *between states*; the consideration of order and justice is incidental. "Examining the role and rationale of force" the authors state as their purpose, and they rightly insist upon the importance of doing so. The treatment is nonhistorical; its seven chapters are divided into two parts, the evolution of force and the rationale of force. An adequate index and sufficient footnotes assist the reader in assessing the work.

At the outset of the first chapter, entitled "The Persistence of Force," the authors pose the fundamental question of whether nuclear weapons have made military power obsolete or whether it remains an indispensable instrument of conflict and order among autonomous states. Obsolescence, they think, implies an inability to function adequately. They rightly argue that the answer has crucial implications for national policy and, indeed, for the very nature of international politics. Although they recognize that others besides pacifists have argued the obsolescence and dysfunctionality of military power (defined in the manner of Clausewitz), they themselves feel that force is essential to international politics and that "there is no reason to suppose that all major states with conflicting interests can pursue their interests without exploiting force. . . ." History seems to them to prove this; one cannot "imagine" history without it. The persistence of force does not, however, merely follow from that, nor from individual psychic drives, but "from the basic political imperatives that operate among all autonomous political units." Stress is put upon the "realism" of this position: "the need of force springs from compelling functional needs . . . of survival and welfare." They discern an "increasing appeal" of force in the contemporary world. This basic position is further elaborated in sections on "the integral role of force in international politics," the "contemporary relevance of force," and the "impact of nuclear weapons upon international politics." In another section force is presented as "an instrument of order," while in conclusion "the expansion and control of force" is explored and leads to the "conjecture" (and hope) that the world is now entering a "regulatory" phase.

Further chapters deal with the expansion, the control, the moral economy, the rationale, and the conquest of force; there is also a chapter on the need to justify force that ties the two parts together. Unfortunately in such a brief review it is impossible to indicate the content of these challenging discussions, let alone to evaluate them critically. Even the authors' thoughtful critique of my position on reason of state can only be mentioned. The authors fully recognize that "a change has occurred in men's attitude toward war." But in trying to assess the future they have, understandably, presented questions rather than answers. "We can only hope for an eventual transformation of attitudes toward force that strikes deeper roots than the recent transformation described in this study." Perhaps we should console ourselves with Cressida's: "Things won are done; joy's soul lies in the doing."

Harvard University

CARL J. FRIEDRICH

QUANTITATIVE INTERNATIONAL POLITICS: INSIGHTS AND EVIDENCE. By *Chadwick F. Alger et al.* Edited by *J. David Singer*. [International Yearbook of Political Behavior Research, Volume VI.] (New York: Free Press. 1968. Pp. xiii, 394. \$10.95.)

THE unity of the ten contributions that comprise this book stems from the authors' shared commitment to apply the scientific method to the study of international politics. From this common perspective, the collection presents a variety of substantive topics and quantitative research techniques. Although techniques for the generation and analysis of quantitative data on international politics are essential to each chapter, the significance of the book does not lie in its presentation of research methods. In fact, some important tools used in quantitative research—surveys, interviews, regression models, and simulations—are not represented. Instead the book presents a cross section of political topics and hypotheses currently being investigated in international politics through the use of quantitative data. The issues explored include the relative effect of role and individual qualities on senatorial attitudes, the insights into international diplomacy from direct observation, the relationship between the perceptions and actions of policy makers, the pattern of behaviors during the Berlin crisis, the variables related to national aggression and foreign conflict, the impact of alliances on war, and the development of international regions and integration.

The significance of the work of the contributors to this volume is evident from the fact that in almost every case the reported research is part of a larger, continuing project. In reducing his work to chapter length, however, each author faced a dilemma: on the one hand, he had to avoid a superficial treatment of complex research problems, and, on the other hand, he had to shun an involved presentation that might not be comprehensible to readers previously unfamiliar with his work. Most, but not all, of the contributors succeeded in achieving a remarkable balance between these extremes.

Several features of this book may be of particular interest to historians. Critics of behavioral approaches have occasionally charged that such analyses tend to collect data for only the contemporary international situation and to neglect historical experience as an explanation of present international behavior. Several studies in this volume confront these objections. The authors of three chapters report systematic data collected for a period of thirty-five years or more. (The alliance study involves data from 1815 to 1960.) Two other chapters utilize diplomatic documents exchanged in the prewar 1914 crisis. Several of the contributors attempt, moreover, to account for the effect of prior experience through the use of time lag models, while others engage in trend analysis to reduce the static quality of their findings. All the authors would appear to concur with the position of Rosenau, who observes that "the user of this method views history through nomothetic and not idiographic eyes."

For the historian who wonders if his variables are capable of quantitative analysis, this collection offers repeated evidence that materials in their "natural" state need not be numerical. Furthermore, even in their final state data need not produce a scale equivalent to that used to measure temperature. For the historian who is uninterested in engaging in quantitative research but who is prepared to

assist in interpreting findings from such studies, this volume presents many opportunities for the analysis of deviant cases, that is, exceptions to established, general patterns of behavior. For example, why did France, unlike other Western democracies, display little involvement in the Fifth Committee of the UN General Assembly. Finally, the historian already convinced of the worthlessness of quantitative research will find ammunition for his position in an author's occasional, questionable assertion about the philosophy of science, in an unsatisfactory research procedure, or in an overgeneralization of a finding.

Princeton University

CHARLES F. HERMANN

HEAVEN, HELL, & HISTORY: A SURVEY OF MAN'S FAITH IN HISTORY FROM ANTIQUITY TO THE PRESENT. By *John T. Marcus*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1967. Pp. xxv, 293. \$6.95.)

THE aim of this exciting study is breathtaking: Professor Marcus proposes nothing less than an analysis of the rise and decline of historical consciousness in Western thought. The questions he asks are as awesome as they are fundamental: How and why did such consciousness become for Western man "a redemptive faith," a secular religion in which he might find true immortality in historical transcendence? What has been the "impact of historicity on the character of values in our civilization?" And, finally, how and why did such a view of human transcendence through history become lost in our time? Convinced that the roots of the contemporary crisis of values can be found in the failure of a transcendental historical imagination to provide any sense of order or meaning in current experience, Marcus concentrates his attention on key figures and movements in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries in an effort to trace the career of this idea and to demonstrate the profound role such an imagination had played.

Such an undertaking is obviously monumental in scope. Marcus has elected, therefore, to divide his labors. In the present volume he concerns himself with the "popular and philosophical uses of historical consciousness," with considerably more attention given to the philosophical. In a subsequent volume he proposes to deal with "the psychology of historical-mindedness" and the "essential elements of historicity and their cultural impact on the forms of thought and action." One questions the wisdom of such a division in that it deprives this volume of a certain richness, complexity, and depth. The account is already foreshortened; too often it reads like a brief intellectual history of Europe with textbook-like summaries of various philosophical positions from Hobbes and Locke through Voltaire and Rousseau and on to Marx, Nietzsche, and Freud. Although he dutifully shows the relationship between his theme and conservatism, liberalism, nationalism, and socialism as movements in European history, he strangely omits, at least in this volume, the special series of problems involved in the notion of a Christian philosophy of history or, perhaps better stated, the problem of men who were believers in both religious and historical transcendence and in personal and historical salvation, a theme essential to the fullest understanding of the issues he is investigating, at least since the time of the Reformation, and certainly central in those very centuries upon which he concentrates his analysis. While Marcus insists that

his case can be made by reference to popular movements and to figures who are neither philosophers nor historians, he rarely does so. There are special moments, none more brilliant than his chapter on the French Revolution, when he does go beyond an analysis of philosophers to show the consequences of historical thinking on the movement of historical events themselves. But these are exceptional instances. Since this volume is a relatively brief sketch of the history of an idea, there is hardly a page that will not produce at least an uplifted eyebrow and perhaps even an outraged cry of protest. Marcus states baldly (and sometimes with a genuinely new insight) as fact controversial interpretations. His method makes it easier for his reader to understand how historical consciousness developed but rarely why. Too often ideas alone seem to beget ideas, and that suffices as explanation; larger socioeconomic, psychological, political, or other developments serve, when offered, as vague "background." Yet an enriched context can make parts of his study memorable. Witness his account of the decline of historical transcendence—the last quarter of his book—where he deals not only with new trends in science, philosophy, and art but also with the whole problem of the relationship between historicity and "totalitarian psychology."

The caveats have been entered; let the reader beware, but by all means let there be readers. With all of its flaws, this is an important book; it deals intelligently with a whole range of most significant questions and deserves a wide audience. Those professionally involved with historical study will want to know Marcus' work, for he is interested in nothing less than the atmosphere in which our enterprise was born and has flourished, in the importance of attitudes toward history and their consequences for our civilization. The contemporary crisis he discusses has clearly special significance for those of us who are historians. I await his second volume eagerly and confess myself grateful for this one.

Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey

WARREN I. SUSMAN

YESTERDAY'S TOMORROWS: A HISTORICAL SURVEY OF FUTURE SOCIETIES. By *W. H. G. Armytage*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1968. Pp. x, 288. \$5.50.)

Yesterday's Tomorrows, by W. H. G. Armytage, professor of education at Sheffield University, is an encyclopedic survey of ideas concerning the future as they have been expressed throughout Western history. The opening chapter draws upon Biblical prophets, Greek philosophers, Roman oracles, Christian views of Vergil, Jewish legends of the golem, Geoffrey of Monmouth, and Joachim of Flora. The next chapter takes up the utopian ideas of More, Bacon, and Campanella, passing on to Rabelais, Swift, Berkeley, and others. The third chapter brings in Defoe, Condorcet, Fourier, Jules Verne, Gabriel Tarde, Renan, Hugo, and Berthelot.

This headlong pace is maintained throughout the book. The Gothic novel is followed by Macaulay, Lord Lytton, and Samuel Butler. A chapter on "Mechanical Millenarians" includes Bellamy, William Morris, W. D. Howells, and Mark Twain. Under the heading "Superman," H. G. Wells, Nietzsche, Shaw, D. H. Lawrence, and W. B. Yeats (on the strength of *The Second Coming* and *A Vision*) pass in review. Chesterton, Kipling, E. M. Forster, W. H. Auden, Aldous

Huxley, William Golding, and Robert Graves follow in rapid succession as examples of "Disenchanted Mechanophobes."

Technology and science fiction contribute illustrations from the contemporary world. Soviet Russia is represented, along with critics of the Soviet system like George Orwell. Ayn Rand, James Joyce, and William Burroughs jostle one another within two pages. In a final chapter ("Operational Eschatologies"), beginning with a RAND conference on the political implications of outer space, we pass on swiftly to Freud, Marx, Trevor-Roper on Toynbee, and Kierkegaard, among others.

The book ends on an optimistic note. Pierre Teilhard de Chardin and Sir Julian Huxley are quoted in support of the thesis that the "forays into the future," which modern science makes possible, do indeed "represent a valid modern mythology." A secular utilization of the mythopoeic faculty, Armytage suggests, "constitutes a more reverent and relevant escape from 'the power and service of transitory things' than the more conventional avenues of the theologians."

In this survey of speculation about the future, an immense range of literature is examined, but there is little attempt to evaluate the significance of the innumerable utopias and fantasies mentioned, either with reference to the psychology of their creators or to the political and social conditions from which they originated. This taxonomic survey is useful as a comprehensive guide to the literature of future societies, but its information is too densely massed to have much appeal for the ordinary educated reader.

University of Washington

GIOVANNI COSTIGAN

MADNESS IN SOCIETY: CHAPTERS IN THE HISTORICAL SOCIOLOGY OF MENTAL ILLNESS. By *George Rosen*. ([Chicago:] University of Chicago Press. 1968. Pp. x, 337. \$5.95.)

THESE ten essays, written during the late 1950's and the 1960's, can, in some respects, serve as a model of research in the historical sociology of mental illness, a branch of medicine perhaps particularly susceptible to social analysis but until recently notably deficient in it. The author, the public health specialist and medical historian George Rosen, ranges over most of Western history, from the ancient to the medieval to the contemporary world; the section on ancient times composes over one-third of the book and apparently contains the only previously unpublished material. The author is concerned with "the recognition of mental illness as a problem in the community, and the circumstances which lead to it; the concepts, ideas, and theories which are available for interpreting strange behavior as mental illness and which provide a basis for community action or inaction; and the development or existence of special institutions and personnel to deal with these matters."

Such work demands a knowledge of history, medicine, sociology, and ancient and modern languages. Rosen, uniquely well qualified in all these fields, utilizes them to produce a sophisticated and suggestive series of analyses. One example is an intriguing examination of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament, which, together with various scholarly sources, leads to the conclusion that the prophets were not, as a group, psychotic, though they were no doubt "different."

Equally fascinating and skillful is the extensive research into deviant group behavior—variously called psychic epidemics, collective psychoses, mass delusions, crazes, or group psychopathy. Can such behavior be equated with individual madness? Rosen's studies of witchcraft from antiquity to the eighteenth century and of dance frenzies, demonic possession, and revival movements in Europe and the United States from the fourteenth to the twentieth century give him a negative answer. He argues convincingly that these phenomena were not essentially expressions of mental illness but "reactions to stress," attempts to manage trying situations often arising from social and economic crises or natural disasters. Another revision of traditional beliefs indicated by Rosen's evidence and corroborated by more recent research is that through the ages harshness toward the mentally ill was not universal; the most humane care, however, was consistently confined to members of the upper classes.

Not all the essays are of equal value, and some could benefit from updating, but Rosen makes a significant contribution in almost every one. As he realizes, they do not together form anything like a comprehensive work; they are certainly a good augury of the one he promises us.

Rutgers University, Newark, New Jersey

NORMAN DAIN

THE GENESIS OF THE CONTRACTUAL THEORY AND THE INSTALLATION OF THE DUKES OF CARINTHIA. By *Joseph Felicijan*. ([Klagenfurt: Družba sv. Mohorja v Celovcu.] 1967. Pp. 144.)

IF we are to believe the author of this little book, there is a direct line from the "ancient ritual of installation of the dukes of Carinthia," through Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini (Pope Pius II), by way of Jean Bodin to Thomas Jefferson. From there it is an easy transition to the implication that Slovenian peasants of the Middle Ages, among other accomplishments, were the remote authors of the Declaration of Independence. In the epilogue we read: "This great declaration of independence of mankind became linked through Thomas Jefferson with the great traditions of Western thought and Christian philosophy, with the work of Bodin, Pufendorf, Locke, and with the ancient story of the Installation of the Dukes of Carinthia." How did all this happen? Those Slovenes who settled in the ancient Roman province of Carantanum evolved the custom of investing their ruler with his office. A fragment from an Ionian column served as the seat for the free peasant who presided at the ceremony. Over the years the elements of the investiture changed, but the basic concept remained the same: the people transferred sovereignty to their ruler. He in turn promised to rule wisely and well. At times the presiding peasant held a mare and cow. On occasion, too, the duke was led around the stone three times on horseback to symbolize the land over which he would rule. Piccolomini observed the ceremony and recorded it in his *De Europa*. Bodin saw the story and repeated it in the *Republic*; Jefferson read it in Bodin.

Originally the Slovenes had their own people as rulers. Under Charlemagne, Frankish counts replaced native princes. At the end of the tenth century Carinthia became an imperial duchy, and from then until the installation of Ernest of Habsburg in 1414 a series of princes including Meinhard of Tyrol and Albert the

Lame was installed by their subjects. Ernest's son, Frederick, who became Holy Roman Emperor in 1440, iconoclast that he apparently was, refused to abide by this ceremony because he regarded it as "incompatible with the imperial dignity" as Professor Felicijan tells us three different times. Indeed, labor of love that it is, this small volume is marred by repetition to the extent that the reader finds himself thinking he forgot to turn the page. The phrase "ancient ritual of installation of the dukes of Carinthia" either precisely in this wording or with minor variations on the theme appears with distracting regularity. The title of Bodin's *Les Six Livres de la République* and the story of the installation itself are repeated far more often than necessary.

The account of the ducal installation is a fascinating vignette, but I question whether it had the influence on political thought that the author would have us believe. Further, it is all somewhat reminiscent of the crowning of the ancient Kshatriya kings of India and the primitive contractual origins of political power described in the *Arthashastra* and elsewhere. Piccolomini's state, "originating in Divine Will and human reason" with human reason being the basic guide, the *circuitus terrae*, the livestock, and the contractual theory explaining the emergence of government, recall concepts and practices far away from Carinthia in time and space.

Wisconsin State University, La Crosse

GEORGE R. GILKEY

THE ISLAMIC DYNASTIES: A CHRONOLOGICAL AND GENEALOGICAL HANDBOOK. By *Clifford Edmund Bosworth*. [Islamic Surveys, Number 5.] (Edinburgh: University Press; distrib. by Aldine Publishing Company, Chicago. 1967. Pp. xviii, 245. \$4.75.)

THIS useful handbook, the first such to appear in half a century, is therefore more than welcome. Until now, Stanley Lane-Poole's *Mohammadan Dynasties* (1894; photoreproduced without alterations, 1925) has had to serve; many needed changes in that work have been long overdue. The utility of Lane-Poole's general format has been retained: a chronological table of rulers for each of the included Islamic dynasties, together with a brief historical summary of the political events associated with the dynasty. Tables of genealogical relationships that Lane-Poole had included have not been retained, however, the reader being referred to Von Zambaur's *Manuel* (1927), now also in need of some correction. The geographic area covered is principally that of North Africa, the Islamic central lands, and major dynasties in India; sub-Saharan Africa and Southeast Asia have been omitted. For each table there is an appended bibliography containing further pertinent information. Both *Hijri* and Christian dates are listed for each entry; where a person may be known by more than one name, the index has attempted to furnish the cross reference.

In his introduction the author points out the necessity to limit his scope, both as to the areas and dynasties covered and the amount of description allotted to each dynasty. Within his limits he has admirably succeeded. His descriptions, in spite of their brevity, contain much useful information, and students of the various Islamic history fields, as well as other users of the manual, will find them important to read. The work is obviously carefully done, and it includes all the re-

cent studies that have made parts of Lane-Poole obsolete. The field can only benefit from having this handbook now available. The "Islamic Surveys" series, of which this book is the fifth, has proved itself to be of real significance.

University of Chicago

REUBEN W. SMITH

FUREURS PAYSANNES: LES PAYSANS DANS LES RÉVOLTES DU XVII^e SIÈCLE (FRANCE, RUSSIE, CHINE). By *Roland Mousnier*. (Paris: Calmann-Lévy. 1967. Pp. 354. 21.60 fr.)

For a dozen years or more, Professor Mousnier has been arguing with the Porchnev school of historians about the nature of seventeenth-century peasant rebellions. The distinguished French historian has insisted that the Russians have presented a simplistic picture and provided a pat explanation for a social phenomenon that was really too complex for dogmatic Marxist treatment. This present book is a brilliant and, in my opinion, devastating rebuttal to the Soviet position; it probably will not prevent men from "reasoning history," but it should end the effort to impose twentieth-century social conceptions on seventeenth-century society.

Mousnier has chosen to make a comparative study of seventeenth-century peasant upheavals in France, Russia, and China. His method is vigorous and effective. He starts with the assumption that one cannot understand a rebellion without placing it within its politico- socioeconomic background as well as in the context of the religious and folk conceptions of the people involved. Thus in each case he provides his reader with an extended and systematic picture of the historical processes at work in each of the communities that he studies. As he points out himself, forty years of research in French archives and libraries have given him an authoritative grasp of the French situation; indeed, the fifty pages in which he describes the social structures in the kingdom of France, and the place of the peasants in the context of seventeenth-century rebellions in general, present the most lucid, concise, and penetrating statement that I have ever seen. In dealing with Russia and China, Mousnier has had to rely upon the work of others; in both cases it is interesting to see how much of the work has been done by American scholars. Naturally here Mousnier's writing lacks some of the authoritative tone that characterizes his discussion of French society, but there are few French, or other, historians as comfortable as he is in the field of comparative history.

After the preliminary statement about the backgrounds, he turns to the rebellions themselves and studies each as a unique problem. Again he has had more contact with the sources for French history, but, using the works of others, he has been able to present creditable pictures of the revolts in China and Russia. In each case he refuses to fall into a simple explanation for complex processes; we see real men, rather than prototypes of puppets, dealing with complex problems that are deeply rooted in the social and economic structures of their lands. It gives us an excellent example of the best sort of historical analysis.

Mousnier's conclusions underline his position in the recent controversies. It is almost as though he asserts that, since seventeenth-century historical scholarship has been able to shake off the "liberal" interpretation of nineteenth-century historians who saw the period either as preparation for their revolution or as a foil for their political system, we must not now allow "Marxist" interpretations to be-

come another dogma. Mousnier is willing to agree with De Salmonet who wrote in 1661 that the "fundamental reason" for the rebellions was "original sin and the refusal [of men] to obey God's Commandments"; but his "secondary" explanations are rooted in more tangible evidence. He examines a variety of causes for rebellion (a wide fan ranging from refusal to pay taxes to simple banditry), the motives of the rebels and of their leaders and instigators, the geographical distribution of the rebellions, the organization of the rebel forces and forms of leadership, and, finally, the programs, aims, and possible ideologies behind the uprisings. After his analyses it is evident that Marxist explanations simply ignore or distort the evidence.

This volume should long inspire any student who hopes to write comparative history.

University of Illinois, Chicago

JOHN B. WOLF

BRITAIN AND GERMANY IN AFRICA: IMPERIAL RIVALRY AND COLONIAL RULE. Edited by *Prosser Gifford* and *Wm. Roger Louis*. With the assistance of *Alison Smith*. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1967. Pp. xvii, 825. \$17.50.)

THIS collection of essays derives from a conference held at Yale University in 1965, which honored the retirement of Harry R. Rudin. It is designed to reflect two of his major interests: European diplomatic rivalry in Africa and colonial administrative policies there. This dual focus has produced two quite separate and distinct books, utilizing different sources and analyzing different problems, which are presented together here. As in any symposium, the papers vary in interest and quality; they illustrate, but do not in any sense cover comprehensively, the two focal areas.

The first section on diplomatic rivalries includes some able papers that summarize the current state of research; they indicate both that economic motives for imperial policy were more overt in Germany than in England and that the perennial argument over Bismarck's motives in establishing a colonial empire for Germany has not yet been concluded. Generally, the authors have worked in English or German archives but not both, so that negotiations or motives tend to be more fully documented on one side of the story. Generally, also, the British official position is the scholastic starting point, and German policies are viewed as challenging or adding to a standard framework. This same attitude is also apparent in the section on colonial policy and administration, a reflection of the training of many scholars and of the greater openness and availability of the English records. Subsequent academic generations will, hopefully, transcend this rather one-sided approach.

The papers on administrative policies seem more revealing to me than those on diplomacy, partly because so little work has yet been done on the German colonial territories. Elizabeth Chilver's paper on the impact of German rule on the Bali of the Cameroons is a model; it analyzes, as noted in a summary essay by John Fage, the point where European, African, and colonial history intersect. John Iliffe's discussion of the effect of the Maji-Maji rebellion on the administration of German East Africa similarly illuminates. Conference discussions, it is

reported, established a real difference between the official British policy of indirect rule and an earlier technique used by both Britain and Germany, that of "ruling indirectly," an interesting distinction that is particularly important for the understanding of British policies after World War I.

This symposium raises the question of whether we really learn very much from attempting to compare next door neighbors such as the Gold Coast and Togo, or from considering South-West Africa progressively under German and South African control; it also establishes that we have as yet no very adequate answer and a long way to go before really comparative history can be written. There is an extremely useful annotated bibliography, helpful particularly on the German side, by Alison Smith and Hartmut Pogge von Standmann; unpublished theses are included. Given the intricacy of discussion in most of the papers, the maps included are disappointing; they need to show much more detail. The book includes several essays on Belgian and Italian imperialism in Africa, but recognizes a major gap in the exclusion of French material. A second volume, based on a conference in March 1968, is promised.

Smith College

MARGARET L. BATES

RUSSIA AND BRITAIN IN PERSIA, 1864-1914: A STUDY IN IMPERIALISM. By *Firuz Kazemzadeh*. [Yale Russian and East European Studies, Number 6.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1968. Pp. ix, 711. \$15.00.)

DIPLOMATIC history—"what one clerk wrote to another clerk"—no longer has the standing it had when politicians and the historians who tracked them assumed that a knowledge of the rules of the game plus a simple efficiency in playing it were keys that would open the rustiest political door: to know what people wanted, what they meant, one had only to read what they wrote, or even said. Alas, no. "Documents" are papers written for reasons not normally confessed. Yet occasionally a book that sets out to analyze the memorandums that passed from one department to another, between one foreign office and another chancellery, succeeds in illuminating the hopes that lie concealed under the name of "policy." Such a book would emphasize that few policies ever reach a conclusion satisfactory to any of the parties involved and, in a particular case, could show clearly the nature of the limitations within which such parties were forced to confine themselves. In doing this, a job of rehabilitation would also be done: "balance of power," for example, might possibly emerge as a concept still capable of sensible use.

Firuz Kazemzadeh has written this kind of book concerning Russo-British rivalry for the establishment and maintenance of influence at Tehran. To the British, Persia was an anteroom to India whose keys they must keep. They were wrong about this. As this most interesting and detailed study shows, the British failed at Tehran, but maintained hegemony in that area which, in fact if not in theory, mattered much more to them: the Persian Gulf and its crucial states. The Russians thought that using Persia to buttress their expanding empire in Turkistan and Transcaspia would gravely weaken the British position in India to a point where fears for Indian security would handicap if not entirely ruin any anti-

Russian stand in Europe that the British might want to take. They were wrong, too. But the diplomats and soldiers representing both sides during the half century covered by this book were not fools; they were doing what they were paid to do. They pursued their own country's interest without bothering about "policy." That was considered to be the business of their masters, the statesmen in St. Petersburg and London, who were supposed to know what the stakes in "The Great Game in Asia" actually were.

Kazemzadeh calls his book, which is based on close and accurate research, a study in imperialism. It is more a study of the techniques that professional imperialists used; but it is a first-class piece of scholarship, careful in its judgments, and it is of little help to Russophiles, Anglophobes, and their variants. It shows, too, how the "old diplomacy," at its best, could slowly draw the poison from a potentially lethal situation—a knack our generation has missed.

University of Toronto

A. P. THORNTON

THE REVOLUTIONARY INTERNATIONALS, 1864-1943. By *Milorad M. Drachkovitch et al.* Edited by *Milorad M. Drachkovitch*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press for the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace. 1966. Pp. xv, 256. Cloth \$6.95, paper \$2.95.)

THE centennial of the establishment of the First International in 1864 occasioned many scholarly conferences, the most fruitful of which, in terms of publications, seems to have been held at Stanford University. It was organized by the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace on the general theme of "One Hundred Years of Revolutionary Internationals" and held on October 5-7, 1964. The papers of the first day, revised and expanded with the benefit of critical comment, are presented here; those of the second and third day have appeared in separate volumes, also edited by Drachkovitch, under the titles *Marxism in the Modern World* and *Marxist Ideology in the Contemporary World: Its Appeals and Paradoxes*. The seven papers of the first day deal with historical aspects in chronological order: "The Rise and Fall of the First International," by Jacques Freymond and Miklós Molnár; "Secret Societies and the First International," by Boris I. Nicolaevsky; "The Anarchist Tradition," by Max Nomad; "The Second International: 1889-1914," by Gerhard Niemeyer; "Social Democracy," by Carl Landauer; "The Third International," by Drachkovitch and Branko Lazitch; and "The Comintern as an Instrument of Soviet Strategy," by Stefan T. Possony.

Among what are essentially interpretive pieces, the contribution of the late Nicolaevsky stands out as an interesting effort to find the "missing link" between the First International and the earlier currents and organizations aimed at social reform and international solidarity such as the latter-day Babouvists, *Carbonari*, Chartists, "Young Europe" enthusiasts, and others. The link, according to the evidence Nicolaevsky marshals, were the Masons, more particularly the French Lodge of the Philadelphians, which aspired to establish a "Universal Social and Democratic Republic" and to do away with the tyrannical Second Empire. The masonic traditions intertwined with inclinations to conspiracy, terrorism, and tyrannicide to produce some of the most troublesome groupings in the heterogeneous First International.

In the more homogeneous Second International and its Social Democratic subculture, the phenomenon of the "Second Reality," that is, the Marxist fixed idea about life, people, and the world embraced as if it were real, has led Niemeyer to ask the questions, meaningful in regard to Marxists then and now, concerning whether a person is less guilty for clinging to his cherished "Second Reality" than for clinging to superstition and whether this attitude of substituting fixed ideas for perceptions and experiences from real life can be considered altogether harmless. Niemeyer is equally critical of historians for dealing gently with the Second International as a feeble but noble enterprise. Historians, of course, have their own bias, which idolizes the French Revolution and its dreams of emancipation and prevents them from seeing "phenomena like the International for what they are."

Compared with its ruminant predecessor, Lenin's "carnivorous" Third International was set to the military task of helping to win, through political action and revolutionary violence in the capitalist world, the *kto kogo* (who destroys whom) struggle with the enemy class. As Possony points out, Soviet foreign policy consistently pursued the interlinking aims of securing the survival of the regime and setting the capitalists to fight each other, and for these aims both Lenin and Stalin found German nationalists and revanchists useful allies. Possony catalogues the instances of this cooperation before 1933 and after, beginning with the deal between the German General Staff and Lenin in World War I, as well as the disastrous results for the German Communists and the nearly disastrous result for the Soviet Union.

The volume suggests areas for further study such as the fate of the many foreign Communists and Comintern functionaries who sought refuge in Moscow and disappeared during the purges. Also useful would be a study of the training of Comintern cadres in the international brigades during the Spanish Civil War and the role they played in the take-over of Eastern Europe at the end of World War II.

San Fernando Valley State College

MARIN PUNDEFF

HISTORY OF THE INTERNATIONAL. Volume II, 1914-1943. By *Julius Braunthal*. Translated by *John Clark*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1967. Pp. xi, 596. \$17.50.)

THIS volume first appeared in a German-language edition some four years ago. The author has prudently used the interval to update his sources and to make minor changes based on new materials. It remains fundamentally the same book as the German edition and benefits from the careful work of an able translator. It is by no means a perfect book; in fact, it is flawed in many ways. The subject matter—the history of the socialist *and* Communist internationals and their activities—is far too broad and too diffuse to afford the close coverage and analysis that one might wish. The author himself is too personally involved with the historical characters and events to view them dispassionately. Prodigious research notwithstanding, the author often uses monographs as sources when the original

sources are easily available. Yet, this is an important book and a major contribution to an important field: the history of socialism.

It is quite evident that Mr. Braunthal's real affection, and often his bitterness, is reserved for the Second International and its successor organization, the Labour and Socialist International. The volume opens with the denouement of the old Second International: the decision of the German Social Democrats on August 4, 1914, to support the imperial German government's request for war credits. As do all historians of the socialist movement, Braunthal finds this a singularly traumatic event. He attempts, thereafter, to weave a complicated path through the Zimmerwald Movement and the Third International, stressing and, to my taste, overstressing Lenin's role. Time and time again, however, he returns to the Social Democrats. He castigates them, he analyzes their failures, and, most important, he sincerely tries to understand them. In his penultimate chapter he conducts an agonizing post-mortem on the demise of the Labour and Socialist International after the outbreak of World War II, a demise as inglorious as the fiasco of war credits in 1914. In a sense, the last chapter on the termination of the Communist International really belongs with the appendixes. For Braunthal the International ended with the weak manifesto of May 1940—a manifesto notable for its failure to so much as scold either Hitler and Stalin and which demonstrated thereby that if diplomats and generals do not always learn lessons from world wars, neither do socialists.

Duke University

WARREN LERNER

POLITICS AND DIPLOMACY OF PEACEMAKING: CONTAINMENT AND COUNTERREVOLUTION AT VERSAILLES, 1918-1919. By Arno J. Mayer. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1967. Pp. viii, 918, xx. \$15.00.)

As readers of his *Political Origins of the New Diplomacy* could have predicted, Arno Mayer's study of the Peace Conference does not follow conventional lines. It makes no attempt, for instance, to discuss all of the territorial issues that engaged the energies of the diplomats in 1919, and the words "mandates" and "Shantung" do not even appear in its very extensive index; nor does it deal with the personalities and psychological frailties of the major participants, which have been the subject of so extensive a literature. The question as to whether Wilson's determination to secure a League of Nations made him vulnerable to the tactical maneuvers of other negotiators (discussed by Paul Birdsall and others) and the procedural problems about which Marston and Nicolson have written do not receive much attention here either. Mayer is more interested in putting the Peace Conference back into its historical context, and he has consequently addressed himself to the reciprocal relationship between what went on in that omnium-gatherum and the domestic politics of the states represented in its meetings. In so doing he has written a book that is too long but that is, nonetheless, one of the few truly exciting diplomatic studies that have appeared in the last generation.

To understand the decisions made at Paris, Mayer argues, one must first accept the fact that the war did not interrupt politics, but continued it, or, specifically, that it accentuated the polarization of politics that had been taking place

since the turn of the century and had been making it increasingly difficult for the forces of moderate reformism to maintain themselves. By 1918 the process was far advanced, and the middle position was threatening to disappear completely; in his autobiography Sir Llewellyn Woodward, a prewar Liberal, tells of the shock of coming home from the war and discovering that, politically, he had no place to go. "Victory," Mayer writes, "strengthened, hardened and emboldened the refractory Right; and the Russian Revolution had a similar impact upon the militant Left." Of the two sides, the Right was the stronger, as was demonstrated by the November elections in the United States, the coupon election in Great Britain, the *chambre bleu horizon* in France, and the domination of the Italian Parliament by Sidney Sonnino, and it was the Right that went on the offensive, to secure long-sought domestic goals and to assure itself that nothing in the peace terms would, actually or potentially, threaten them. In Mayer's formulation, "the forces of order appear to have taken advantage of the intoxication of victory either to preserve or advance their class interests and status positions under an ideological cover which was a syncretism of jingoist nationalism, baleful anti-Wilsonianism, and rabid anti-Bolshevism." Against them, liberals seeking a peace without victory at Paris had limited maneuverability since, given the pervasive fear of Bolshevism, appeals to the Left for help merely fed the strength of the extremists of the Right. This was Woodrow Wilson's dilemma at Paris.

In a general way, of course, this is all well known. But no one before Mayer has so meticulously described the domestic currents in the United States, Great Britain, France, and Italy that determined the policy and tactics of their representatives: the way in which Orlando's devotion to *trasformismo* shaped the selection and the philosophy of the Italian delegation or the effect of the Clydeside labor troubles of January 1919 upon Lloyd George's attitude toward intervention in Russia. No previous writer has so effectively elaborated Ray Stannard Baker's percipient comment that "Paris cannot be understood without Moscow" or shown in such detail Wilson's unsuccessful attempts to escape the ultimate logic of anti-Bolshevism by the use of the economic weapon against the Moscow regime. Finally, no previous work has demonstrated so convincingly the effect of Béla Kun's seizure of power in Hungary and Kolchak's misleading successes in the spring of 1919 in alternately encouraging and defeating attempts to appease Germany by giving it lighter terms.

In view of the masterly treatment of these themes, to say nothing of the author's incisive comments on German politics, the Prinkipo plan, the Bullitt mission, and Wilson's attempts to understand and control Italian politics in the Fiume matter, the excessive length of the book is perhaps pardonable. It is true that Mayer's sections on domestic politics are at times so detailed and extensive that they blur what he is saying about the negotiations. He himself seems so apprehensive that his readers might forget essential points that he repeats things rather too often; one memorandum of Herbert Hoover is cited three times at considerable length. Yet he has so much to say that is new and important that this will hardly daunt the serious scholar, who will be able to recognize a good thing when he sees it.

Stanford University

GORDON A. CRAIG

LOST FATHERLAND: THE STORY OF THE MENNONITE EMIGRATION FROM SOVIET RUSSIA, 1921-1927. By *John B. Toews*. [Studies in Anabaptist and Mennonite History, Number 12.] (Scottsdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1967. Pp. 262. \$6.95.)

THIS interesting book deals with the dramatic migration of some 25,000 Mennonites from Russia to Canada between 1921 and 1927 because they found it impossible to accommodate themselves to the changes brought about by the Russian Revolution of 1917. It is the story of a small religious and ethnic group caught in the vicious grasp of upheaval and drastic change during the early Soviet era.

Mennonites were originally attracted to Russia by the special invitation of Catherine the Great, who set most liberal terms for Mennonites in order to encourage them, as successful farmers, to settle and develop some of the newly acquired swampy areas of Russia. For many years Russia was hospitable to Mennonites and allowed them considerable freedom to develop their religious and civil genius in their prosperous and rather independent colonies.

After Catherine's reign certain restrictions were imposed, and many Mennonites emigrated to the Americas. The nineteenth- and twentieth-century migrations are dealt with in *The Coming of the Russian Mennonites* (1927), by C. Henry Smith, and in *Mennonite Exodus* (1962), by Frank H. Epp. John B. Toews covers the emigration, mainly from the Russian Ukraine after World War I, in this volume.

Toews vividly describes the catastrophe of unprecedented proportions that the Russian Mennonites faced after 1917. Events that led to the breakup of Mennonite settlements naturally alienated Mennonites from their "Fatherland" and motivated them, even though bankrupt, to leave Russia. Progressively uprooted by the crosscurrents of revolution, they struggled for survival by exploring every possible alternative for a better future. In spite of serious and prolonged dialogue with Russian authorities concerning Mennonite social, economic, cultural, and religious values, survival seemed hopeless. Hence, as these negotiations were still going on, arrangements were quietly made to emigrate.

Toews has a thorough understanding of the Russian Revolution, the Civil War that followed, and the early years of Communist rule, as well as recent Mennonite history. He also covers the knotty question related to Mennonite involvement in self-defense efforts when bandits molested, tortured, and killed inhabitants of Mennonite villages. This was a time of tension, tragedy, and heartbreak. In the end only about one-quarter of the Mennonite minority in Russia managed to find a new "Fatherland" in Canada.

Such a prolonged and difficult process also produced such noteworthy heroes as B. B. Janz, a leader and negotiator in Russia, H. B. Unruh, "The Man in the Middle" in Germany, and David Toews, the "Moses" on the receiving end in Canada.

Since it results from a doctoral thesis, the book is well documented. Many private files of various leaders and the files of such various agencies as the Canadian Mennonite Board of Colonization, the Mennonite Central Committee, and the Bethel College Historical Library are used. Valuable maps and pictures

also enrich this volume which is recommended to those interested in Mennonite history and all concerned with the tragic story of the suppression of freedom anywhere.

Bethel College

ED. G. KAUFMAN

Ancient

FROM SOLON TO SOCRATES: GREEK HISTORY AND CIVILIZATION DURING THE SIXTH AND FIFTH CENTURIES B.C. By *Victor Ehrenberg*. (London: Methuen and Company; distrib. by Barnes and Noble, New York. 1968. Pp. xv, 493. Cloth \$8.00, paper \$4.25.)

FOR the writing of this book Professor Ehrenberg could draw upon the resources of a long and distinguished career in teaching and writing ancient history. In addition to many articles and his discussion of political institutions in *The Greek State*, there are *Ost und West*, *Sophocles and Pericles*, *The People of Aristophanes*, the latter books primarily concerned with that unity of historical experience—political, social, economic, and intellectual—which Ehrenberg wishes to emphasize in this study. A graceful introduction indicates the aims of the book: to write a narrative unifying the various aspects of Greek history in its most significant period, the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., and to indicate the uncertainties of scholarship in what he characterizes as “a jungle of ancient traditions and modern conjectures, with very few undisputed facts.” At the outset of the period lived Solon, who represented “a kind of middle class between the landowners and the manual workers.” At its end died Socrates, who “believed in the rule of law” and perished for revolutionizing Greek thought. Both were concerned to find a new bond of unity within the city-state between the extremes of its society. Both lived in Athens, which is necessarily the focus of Ehrenberg’s account for at least the fifth century.

The narrative is concerned mainly with Greek history from the Ionian Revolt, which ushered in the Persian Wars, to the defeat and revolution in Athens at the end of the Peloponnesian War. Four lengthy chapters treat the material: “The Wars for Freedom”; “The Ascendancy of Athens”; “The Peloponnesian War”; and, on the revolution, intellectual and political, of the late fifth century, “Know Thyself.” Considerable space is given to the military action of the wars and to the problems of the fifty years between them, where the omissions of Thucydides and epigraphical evidence have provided congenial ground for the growth of the “jungle.” Ehrenberg finds a clear path through it in a cautious and generally conservative fashion. For example, in confronting the Themistocles Decree, about which a new forest has grown, he writes, “If it (the decree) throws some new light on the events, it poses at least as many new problems, and some of the most important facts mentioned are likely to be later invention.” More importantly, he has skillfully illuminated the concerns of the Greeks who lived through this vital century by drawing on Aeschylus and Pindar, Sophocles, Euripides and Aristophanes. The redating of the plays of Aeschylus has provided the occasion of a new assessment of the generation of the Persian Wars. There are an excellent

characterization of Pericles and an interesting interweaving of political action and intellectual reaction for the Peloponnesian War.

The sixth century receives rather cursory treatment. By way of introduction we have a sketch of early Greek history through the seventh century; it is very brief, but there is notice of recent interpretation of the major phases of development. Two chapters, "Early Sparta" and "Athens before and under Solon," set the scene for an account of the sixth century—a single chapter discussing the Pisistratid tyranny in Athens, Cleisthenes, and surveying the wider Greek scene in Ionia and western Greece. The discussion of early Sparta is properly guarded, and that on Solon's work is very good, but Ehrenberg has not developed the quality of Greek civilization for the sixth century as well as for the fifth. Perhaps that is because the focus is on Athens, which was relatively unimportant in sixth-century Greece; perhaps it is the result of Ehrenberg's rather slight and conventional treatment of art. For the sixth century that might be given the role that literature plays for the fifth. Then, too, Ehrenberg does not move as easily in the scholarly work on archaic Greece as in that on the classical city-state. For example, reference to Ionia, while necessarily brief, is frequently faulty. Did Ionia begin to exert a "strong" influence on the art of the islands and of the motherland from the mid-seventh century? Should the Ionian cities be described as the terminals of important caravan routes and outlets for Asiatic empires? Or, should the Ionian League be described, because the central god was Poseidon, as "largely a union of small maritime states intent on checking piracy"?

While the book has no illustrations, there are ten black-and-white maps (including battle sites), an index, and ample citation of recent work, mainly in English. The notes, with Ehrenberg's own evaluation and interpretation, make the volume of particular interest to advanced students and ancient historians. The general reader, too, will find a well-written, thoughtful narrative, rather conservative in nature. Ehrenberg describes his position: "We are a generation in between, no longer sure of critical positivism, nor, on the other hand, of the rationalist intuition now so much in vogue."

Northwestern University

CARL ROEBUCK

HISTOIRE POLITIQUE DU MONDE HELLÉNISTIQUE (323-30 AV. J.-C.). Volume II, DES AVÈNEMENTS D'ANTIOCHOS III ET DE PHILIPPE V À LA FIN DES LAGIDES. By *Édouard Will*. [Annales de l'Est, Mémoire Number 32.] (Nancy: Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences humaines de l'Université de Nancy. 1967. Pp. 564.)

THIS concluding volume of Professor Will's work covers a period of nearly two centuries, from the accession of Philip V and Antiochus III until the death of Cleopatra, but the treatment of the first part of this period (Part III, 223-164 B.C.) is much more detailed than the last (Part IV, 164-30 B.C.). The earlier part corresponds almost exactly, and by design, with the plan Polybius had in mind when he decided to write a history. Will holds the usual view that these years were the decisive years for the history of the Greeks, and he also stresses somewhat the coincidence that impressed Polybius: the entrance of Hannibal, Philip V, Ptolemy IV, and Antiochus III on the world stage at the same moment in time. The

later part (Part IV) deals with the manner in which Roman rule was extended and put on a permanent footing, a lengthy process because Rome had to settle its own internal problems before it could end the anarchy its purely military victories had created.

The format is unchanged: the narrative is divided into a multitude of sections and subsections, each of which is followed by a list of sources and a bibliography, often including detailed examination of modern scholarly opinion. This discussion of the literature, along with a more complete reference to monographs, articles, epigraphic and numismatic reports than has appeared in one place since Niese wrote his famous work at the end of the last century, should make Will's history attractive to specialists in the field as well as indispensable to beginning scholars. And this is probably what the author had in mind—a manual for the study of Hellenistic political history rather than a history in its own right.

A favorite word of Will's is "nuance," and he shows exceptional sensitivity in seeking shades of meaning overlooked before. This applies to individuals like Titus Flamininus, who is held to be both a convinced Hellenist and a self-seeking politician, and to institutions like the Roman Senate, which is not an abstraction but an ever-shifting combination of cliques and individuals. The author reacts strongly against the tendency to oversimplify either the motives of individual statesmen or the social and economic background of the problems they faced. The larger question of Roman imperialism, which runs through the whole volume, is treated with an acute sense of the strong points and the weaknesses of views advanced by scholars such as Mommsen, Holleaux, Rostovtzeff, Frank, Tarn, and many others.

But Will's cryptic style can be irritating. For example, after explaining that some Boeotian malcontents who objected to the alliance with Perseus set out for Rome to present their grievances, he remarks that, "they never got there," and then goes on to other matters! Almost anyone would wonder what happened to these men. Niese tells us (*Gesch. d. griech. u. makedon. Staaten*, III, 102), but not Will.

The narrative sections are followed by a convenient series of short essays, with bibliography, on the leading ancient writers (chiefly, but not exclusively, historians) on the Hellenistic period. Agatharchides would have been a welcome addition to the list.

University of California, Los Angeles

TRUESDELL S. BROWN

THE LAW OF PERSONS IN THE LATER ROMAN REPUBLIC. By *Alan Watson*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. xii, 269. \$12.00.)

THIS book is part of a comprehensive study of private law during the last two centuries of the Republic. A volume covering obligations appeared in 1965, and two more are planned. It may seem surprising that no full account of Roman private law during a period undoubtedly very important in its development should exist. A partial explanation is that the sources are scanty and often hard to evaluate; nor have they been enlarged by new materials as is true for the Empire. They make much less feasible the systematic studies and elaboration of juristic subtleties

that have been provided so abundantly for the classical period from Augustus to Diocletian and for Justinian's law.

The author sets forth the evidence for each part of the law of persons, conscientiously excluding arguments from what is known in earlier or later periods. His essential contribution is the careful examination of texts, and he refrains from providing general summaries of the character and development of this branch of republican law or any part of it. He succeeds admirably in what he set out to do. His examination of texts is judicious, resourceful, and penetrating, and he makes it far easier than it has been to determine what is actually known for this period about each legal institution.

Watson hopes that his book will be useful to Roman historians, especially social historians, as well as lawyers. Undoubtedly it will be. They can hardly ignore such matters as marriage, *patria potestas*, and slavery, and they should not neglect to read what he has to say. They will not, however, find any attempt to relate law to social history or historical developments. For instance, in Chapter xviii ("The *Liber homo* Treated as a Slave") Persian and Carthaginian slave girls in Plautus are given about as much space as the woman of Arretium whose liberty Cicero defended in 79. One would suppose that vindication of liberty became a matter of quite different character and dimensions when, from the time of the Social War, thousands of Italians, many with relatives interested in their fate and in a position to act, became enslaved or treated as slaves (see, for example, *Pro Cluentio*, 23-25; Suetonius, *Augustus*, 32.1). But the austerity and narrow limits of Watson's volume are in the tradition of the Roman jurists, and they help make this a solid foundation for further studies and an essential reference work.

Institute for Advanced Study

J. F. GILLIAM

CAIUS MARIUS. By *Phillip A. Kildahl*. [Twayne's Rulers and Statesmen of the World Series, Number 7.] (New York: Twayne Publishers. 1968. Pp. 191. \$4.95.)

MARIUS and his rival Sulla have generally been treated in English as figures in the over-all history of the later Republic. Sulla still lacks a scholarly English treatment; Baker's *Sulla the Fortunate* (1927) scarcely fills the need. For Marius, Professor Carney provided in *Proceedings of the African Classical Association*, Supplement I (1962) a fundamental consideration of the sources and problems. Professor Kildahl draws heavily on Carney's conclusions, though not always consistently; for example, in the preface, Marius is "of lowly birth," and his possession of only two names "set him apart from his fellows." Later, in the body of the work, he becomes, as he did for Carney and other recent scholars, "a member of a prosperous and influential family" of Arpinum, with good connections in Rome, and his name is said to have been "common in Rome." Kildahl might have added that two names only is the common pattern of Italian nomenclature outside of Rome, as, for example, Gnaeus Pompeius. But to carp at such details would be ungracious and space consuming. Suffice it to add that the annotation is brief, and the bibliography, though useful on recent articles, is hardly exhaustive. It does not include A. Passerini's good Italian biography (1941) or the long one in French by J. Van Ooteghem (1964). It cites Boak's *History* in the third edition (1943), not

the fifth edition by W. G. Sinnigen (1965). Scholars will therefore be disappointed in this study as compared with those by Passerini, Carney, and Van Ooteghem.

Kildahl's work is, however, addressed rather to the general reader. Thus, it goes somewhat fully into matters of background, such as Roman military organization and the constitution, becoming at times wordy, inexact, and interpretive beyond the evidence. With Carney, it rejects the unfavorable view of Marius found in the ancient sources from Cicero on as reflecting the hostility of contemporary senatorial writing, particularly that of Sulla, whose *Memoirs* minimized Marius' successes. Highly favorable to Marius, the book emphasizes his capacity as a military reformer and as a general. It admits that Marius, though sympathetic to proposals of immediate reform, had no long-range concept of democratizing the state and that he straddled by trying to stand in with both reformers and conservatives. Thus Caesar's ostentatious Marianism was an appeal to his popularity, not to any political program. In conclusion, therefore, this study, though it does not exhibit definitive scholarship, is adequate for its purpose.

Harvard University

MASON HAMMOND

KLEINASIEN ZUR RÖMERZEIT: GRIECHISCHES LEBEN IM SPIEGEL DER MÜNZEN. By *Peter Robert Franke*. (Munich: Verlag C. H. Beck. 1968. Pp. 70, 512 plates. DM 16.80.)

In the centuries from Augustus to Aurelian hundreds of cities in Asia Minor issued their own coinage. The thousands of extant specimens have inevitably become a precious repository of evidence for the art, life, and propaganda of the Roman East. In a slight and unpretentious volume Professor Franke has given us a good sampling of these numismatic treasures. He has illustrated and described 512 representative pieces from the great collection of Hans von Aulock in Istanbul. The book is, by Franke's own admission, not designed for the specialist; it is, rather, a stimulus for the interested amateur. Limitation of Franke's exhibits to the Aulock collection means, unfortunately, that in some cases the clearest specimens cannot be shown and that in other cases important items have to be mentioned without illustration at all.

Franke's introductory text of twenty-six pages is helpful, although superficial. He touches cursorily upon many problems, the complexity of which would not easily be grasped by the inexperienced reader. One could not, for example, imagine the difficulties that confronted Miss Levick in analyzing the use of Latin on the coins of the Pisidian colonies in her *Roman Colonies in Southern Asia Minor* (1967). In the matter of art Cornelius Vermeule has recently shown how instructive a thorough discussion of major pieces can be in his *Roman Imperial Art in Greece and Asia Minor* (1968). Sometimes Franke is not so much superficial as wrong. With a more secure knowledge of Roman history he would hardly have been astonished at the scarcity of numismatic portraits of living men from outside the imperial house; nor would he have stated twice that the native city of Hadrian's Antinoüs was Nicomedia instead of Bithynium-Claudiopolis.

In the exacting task of describing individual coins, Franke is not always reliable. Sex. Iulius Frontinus is assigned an Asian proconsulate in 82-83; Franke has

missed the new inscription at Phrygian Hierapolis (*Ann. Scuol. Arch. di Atene*, XLI-XLII [1963-64], 409-10), revealing Frontinus' year as either 84-85 or 85-86. In annotating coins mentioning M. Plancius Varus, Franke makes Varus proconsul in Asia in 78-79, ignoring S. Jameson's arguments in *JRS*, LV (1965), 56-58; and, by a slip, Varus is even placed in Bithynia in 78-79. But Franke cannot be blamed for ignorance of the new Varus inscription from Babadat, poorly illustrated in *Archaeology* (XVI [1963], 169) and still unpublished.

Harvard University

G. W. BOWERSOCK

RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY IN THE HISTORIES OF TACITUS. By Russell T. Scott. [Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome, Volume XXII.] ([Rome:] the Academy. 1968. Pp. xiv, 139.)

DR. Scott presents three main themes. First, after an introductory review of previous treatments of his topic (Chapter 1), he summarizes the history of Roman religion (Chapter II). He argues that the basic Roman attitude toward religion remained a constant behind superficial changes imposed by the impact of foreign cults, by Greek philosophy, or in the course of normal development. Even in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. the attacks on Roman paganism by such writers as Lactantius and St. Augustine reveal the persistence of Roman concern for meticulous religious observance and for a proper relationship of men to the divine. Secondly, in Chapter III, he places Tacitus' *Histories* squarely in this Roman religious tradition. Book I of the *Histories* is dominated by the theme that Rome lost divine favor through degeneration from ancient virtues and lack of respect for the gods. In the following books this degeneration of the year of civil war (A.D. 68-69) is redeemed by the emerging *fortuna Flaviana*, identified with the *fortuna Romana*. Finally, in Chapter IV, Scott analyzes three passages from the *Annals* to show that Tacitus' philosophic views also adhered to Roman tradition.

The book is provided with full notes, many of which might well have been incorporated into the text. There are both a general index and an index of passages cited from Tacitus.

Scott makes a good case for Tacitus' religious and philosophic Romanism and for his confidence (*fides*) that degeneration would be redeemed when the *fortuna Flaviana* fulfilled Rome's historical destiny. Yet one may wonder how much of this confidence survived in Tacitus' lost treatment of Domitian. Moreover, the discussions of the three topics all leave a sense of incompleteness. While the survey of Roman religion fills nearly a third of the book, it is still, nevertheless, too cursory for so complex a subject. The author might better have limited himself to a statement of the Roman religious attitude in the time of Tacitus. Also, in identifying Tacitus as religiously Roman, Scott neglects his probable upbringing in northern Italy or Provence and the consequent possibility that, whether he descended from native or Roman stock, he was exposed in youth to Celtic religious attitudes. Also, Scott merely notes Tacitus' rhetorical ("satiric") pessimism and critical tone, which, as in the case of Sallust, lead to an overcoloring of the picture of degeneration. Finally, the restriction of the discussion of religion to the *Histories*, and of philosophy only (and briefly) to the *Annals*, leaves the total picture incomplete, even though Scott emphasizes the consistency of Tacitus' attitudes through-

out his surviving works. Thus this study, useful for its interpretation of Tacitus, remains a thesis rather than being a book.

Harvard University

MASON HAMMOND

Medieval

THE PAULICIAN HERESY: A STUDY OF THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF PAULICIANISM IN ARMENIA AND THE EASTERN PROVINCES OF THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE. By *Nina G. Garsoïan*. [Publications in Near and Middle East Studies, Columbia University, Series A, Number 6.] (Paris: Mouton & Co. 1967. Pp. 293.)

Pace some old-fashioned Byzantinists, Byzantine studies cannot thrive without a linguistic and historical conversancy with things Caucasian and especially Armenian. Professor Garsoïan's book is a brilliant vindication of this. Combining the evidence of both the Byzantine and the Armenian sources, the author has succeeded in presenting the first consistent and comprehensive history of the Paulician movement in Armenia and the Eastern Empire. The divergences between the two groups of sources, and those among the Byzantine sources themselves, are explained on chronological and historical grounds, and the evidence of the Armenian material makes it possible at last to appreciate correctly that of the Byzantine. In presenting the history of Paulicianism, the author confirms some of F. C. Conybeare's conjectures. The movement, a survival of an early Adoptionist trend, originated in Armenia, and its name may well be derived from Paul of Samosata. Certain anti-iconic features, originating from Caspian Albania, were added in the seventh century; in the tenth century it appeared under the name of Thondrakism, and it has since survived, underground, almost to today. In this context the author's analysis of the *Key of Truth* (edited and translated by Conybeare in 1898) is important. In the mid-seventh century Paulicianism spread to the Byzantine Empire, where it was to play an important role. Byzantine Paulicianism manifested new—Docetic and dualistic—features that may justify calling it Neo-Paulicianism. This development would appear to have been a matter of the inner logic of the movement itself, rather than of any traceable Gnostic or Manichaean influence or, a fortiori, origin, with which it has been credited by opponents. In the eighth and ninth centuries Neo-Paulicianism acquired a political significance as its adherents formed a state, centered in Tephrike on the Euphrates, which maneuvered between Byzantium and Islam until its destruction by Basil I in 872. Thereafter, a wave of Neo-Paulician refugees returned to Armenia, causing, precisely, the evolution of local Paulicianism into Thondrakism; while at the same time another wave moved to the Balkans to open a new phase of Paulician history that lies beyond the scope of this book, which contains the following chapters: "The Greek Sources"; "The Armenian Sources"; "The History of the Paulicians"; "The Paulician Doctrine"; "The Origin and Nature of Paulicianism." There are also an introduction, a conclusion, three appendixes, a bibliography, an index, and a map.

The following remarks concern minor points that may detract somewhat from the excellence of this important contribution. There is, to begin with, an ambigu-

ity of ecclesiological terminology regarding those groups—Catholics, Nestorians, Monophysites, and, during the medieval disputes, Greek Orthodox and Armenian Orthodox—who claimed the laudatory epithet “orthodox,” reserving for their opponents the pejorative term “heretics.” These two terms are, accordingly, relative, in contradistinction to the fixed and unmistakable names that designate the several contending religious bodies. It is regrettable that this book uses the equivocal value judgments “orthodox” (no less equivocal for being written with a capital “o”) and “heretic” in referring to the more specific groups mentioned above. Certain ambiguities and contradictions might have been avoided had the author used the fixed names or other, more general terms like: “Official/Established Church” and “Dissent/sect/sectarians” instead of “orthodox/orthodoxy” and “heretic/heresy.”

Next, it is extremely difficult to see in early Adoptionism “the main stream of Orthodox [*sic*] Christianity in the Orient.” Nor can it be said that an extant variant of Luke 3:21–22 “gives the Adoptionist version” of the baptism of Christ because this passage is merely a quotation from Psalm 2:7. As for the passage in Galatians 3:26–27, far from being “one of the most Adoptionist passages,” it refers not to Christ, but to the Christians, indisputably “adopted children of God.”

Other, more minor terminological matters concern the use of various Eastern terms and their transcription or translation. These little imprecisions do not, of course, in any way detract from the fundamental worth of this welcome and handsomely presented contribution to both Caucasian and Byzantine studies. All those interested in the *partes Orientis* owe a debt of profound gratitude to the author.

Georgetown University

CYRIL TOUMANOFF

A HISTORY OF ANGLO-LATIN LITERATURE, 597–1066. Volume I, 597–740. By *W. F. Bolton*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1967. Pp. xiv, 305. \$10.00.)

NEVER has Latin literature of early Anglo-Saxon England (to A.D. 740) been treated so fully in English as in this important and highly useful volume. It succeeds in its twofold task: to describe the primary Latin materials, however fragmentary, “associated with individual (although sometimes anonymous) writers . . . but not the institutional or official forms,” and to compile the most nearly complete bibliography, within defined limits, of secondary works on its subject. Although its *terminus a quo* is St. Augustine’s mission of A.D. 597, one-fifth of the text is devoted to British Latin before that date, with Pelagius, Patrick, Gildas, Columba, Columban, and others discussed in their political and religious context. The period 597–740 is divided into chapters on “The Seventh Century,” with emphasis on Theodore of Canterbury, Benedict Biscop, Wilfrid (Bolton’s dislike of whom is refreshing), and Aldhelm; “Bede”; and “The Age of Bede.” So little often survives from great men of their day—one letter from Bishop Acca of Hexham, for example, or one letter and one poem from Abbot Ceolfrid of Jarrow, than whom “*nemo per id temporis . . . doctior illo posset inveniri*” in Church law—that Bolton is to be particularly praised for resisting mere en-

comium in his balanced analysis of the giant to whom almost half the pages of the major chapters are given: Bede.

The life and works of each author are described, and examples, with translations, are well chosen to illustrate style and content. Medievalists who have tried their hand at translating the *Hisperica famina* or the extravagant, "hisperic" style of Aldhelm and others will, I think, admire Professor Bolton's versions presented for his unlatined readers. His surveys of historical background press him into stating certainties that are uncertain, however, and, when he puts his mind to it, he can pack three historical errors into two lines as on page ten. Sometimes also one wishes for footnote references since the only footnotes are translations, but these are very minor complaints in the face of over sixty pages of well-arranged bibliography of a thousand items and the most complete and cohesive literary history in any language of English Latinity of its period. A second volume, carrying the subject to 1066, is awaited with pleasure.

Lawrence University

WILLIAM A. CHANEY

DA SAN NILO ALL'UMANESIMO. By *Gabriele Pepe*. [Storia e civiltà, Numero 2.] ([Bari:] Dedalo Libri. 1966. Pp. 256. L. 3,000.)

THE title of this volume may mislead prospective readers by suggesting that it is a cultural history of medieval Italy. In reality it is a collection of seventeen essays and reviews on medieval subjects; they were first published between 1927 and 1959 and are reprinted here without major revision by their author except for some updating of the footnotes. There is no unifying theme. Collectively, however, the essays acquire a certain unity as the mirror of a historian's thought during his earlier years, when he was a rebel against the Italian historical and political establishment. Pepe's historiographical and subjective approach, his aversion to "scientific" and positivistic history, and his never-ending battle for a humanized history stressing spiritual and cultural values are stamped upon every one of these essays.

Part I consists of ten essays on subjects ranging from the tenth through the fourteenth century. The emphasis throughout is on Italy, and it is evident that Pepe's sympathies are usually with the radical, nonconformist elements in Italian society. An essay on St. Nilus and his significance as a herald of the Gregorian reform is followed by discussions of Abelard and Héloïse, Joachimite and Franciscan attitudes as revealed in medieval chronicles, the decadence of Calabria, and a series of profiles of Renaissance personalities, all with reference to the scholarly literature on the subject. Among the Renaissance group, "Petrarch the Man as Judged by the *Risorgimento*" traces the decline of Petrarch's reputation during Italy's political awakening and shows how Italian literary critics of the nineteenth century downgraded the poet-humanist in a confrontation with Dante and Machiavelli, the political activists.

Part II, an assemblage of book reviews, requires little comment. The most substantial item here is the survey of medieval historical studies in Italy contributed by Pepe to the Croce anniversary volumes of 1950, *Cinquant'anni di vita intellettuale italiana, 1896-1946*. Pepe condemns en bloc the monographic work produced in Italy during the half century in question, with the exception of Volpe's

books and a few favorable references to Buonaiuti, Salvatorelli, and Falco. No less unfavorable are his evaluations of the general medieval histories written during that period. His coverage is woefully incomplete, partly because he excludes legal history from his survey, but his assessments of individual works show critical perception. Most medievalists today would agree that Volpe's best work was his *Movimenti religiosi e sette ereticali nella società medievale italiana*. But the same half century produced many other monographs of high quality and lasting value; one need only recall various works by Forchielli, Magni, Leicht, Pivano, Vaccari, Luzzatto, and others. In an introductory paragraph Pepe does indeed pay tribute to the legal historians, praising their method and their contribution to social and economic history.

The dated and miscellaneous character of these studies makes appraisal difficult. Such a collection cannot escape defects inherent in the essay genre—superficiality and extreme brevity. Some of the essays are pretty tenuous in substance, opening vistas without exploring them in depth. They are, nevertheless, the work of a man with an intimate knowledge of medieval sources, and most of them have retained their freshness and suggestive quality.

Pepe's gift of historical imagination and insight, combined with a vivid literary style, supremely fitted him to write a cultural history of medieval Italy of the humanized kind he was forever demanding. That potentiality has not been realized, but it casts an aura over everything he wrote, saving even his minor work from mediocrity. This miscellany expresses the historical credo for which Pepe has fought all of his life. By its nature it cannot add to his professional reputation, which will continue to rest on his *Medio evo barbarico d'Italia* and its companion volume on barbarian Europe, his *Carlo Magno*, and his fine contribution to monographic literature, *Il mezzogiorno sotto gli spagnuoli*.

Boston, Massachusetts

CATHERINE E. BOYD

MONARCHS AND MERCENARIES: A REAPPRAISAL OF THE IMPORTANCE OF KNIGHT SERVICE IN NORMAN AND EARLY ANGEVIN ENGLAND. By *John Schlight*. [Studies in British History and Culture, Volume I.] (Bridgeport, Conn.: Conference on British Studies at the University of Bridgeport; distrib. by New York University Press, New York. 1968. Pp. xi, 105.)

HISTORIANS have long known that the Norman and early Angevin kings hired such mercenaries as Flemings, Bretons, Brabançonnes, and Welsh for their continental and English campaigns and for the defense of their castles, but what this book shows is how large and how important an element of the royal forces mercenaries were in the period between 1066 and 1189. Essentially, Mr. Schlight argues that the English kings found their feudal vassals too disloyal, too few, and too often incompetent to rely on them for important campaigns. More fortunate than most contemporary rulers because of their superior pecuniary resources, the English kings could hire more mercenaries. So essential did these mercenaries become that the English kings were inspired to make their financial administration, notably the Exchequer, more efficient. A scutage was levied already by William Rufus, and many were collected by Henry II who, it is suggested, may well

have budgeted certain sums annually for the payment of his numerous mercenaries.

Much that Schlight says about mercenaries is correct and challenges the Victorian argument of Stubbs and Freeman that in this period mercenaries were few, that they were abhorred, and that the defense of England rested primarily with the feudal levy and the *fyrð* inherited from the Anglo-Saxons. Schlight also joins the growing number of scholars who have become disenchanted with the Round-Stenton position on feudalism. He feels that feudal service was relatively unimportant, that, as a military system, feudalism in practice was quite different from what it seemed to be in theories propounded by Round and his disciples.

There are, however, shortcomings in this work by Schlight. It has but thirty-eight notes, most of which refer to secondary works; only scholars acquainted with the pertinent records will know the sources of Schlight's evidence. There is repetition of information already well known as, for example, the details on central administration. A discussion of the historiography of English feudalism is superfluous. Too often the obvious is presented as being new. The following quotation, for instance, is typical: "One of the conditions which had accompanied the rise of feudalism earlier was a scarcity of money. . . . As the volume of money in circulation increased land began to lose its role as a medium of exchange, and those services which were formerly derived from the land came gradually to be performed for cash." Schlight consistently emphasizes the contribution of Brabançonne mercenaries to the royal success in arms, but at the same time writes that the English kings hired their mercenaries from northern France. The duchy of Brabant was never a part of France! It is very doubtful that there was a rapid transition from feudal to nonfeudal institutions with an accompanying shift in mentality. Schlight states, and correctly, that there were more money fiefs in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries than in the twelfth, but why then did the English kings expend their resources on money fiefs when they could hire mercenaries without the bother of a fief and a feudal contract?

Although Schlight has justly emphasized the importance of mercenaries, he has, in the process, overemphasized their role and underestimated the value and vitality of feudalism.

Brown University

BRYCE LYON

ENGLISH CISTERCIAN MONASTERIES AND THEIR PATRONS IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY. By *Bennett D. Hill*. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1968. Pp. xi, 188. \$6.50.)

THIS book, though short, is wider in scope than its title suggests. It consists of four studies: on the circumstances and personalities of the early Cistercian foundations in England; on the founders and benefactors of the second generation; on the Congregation of Savigny and its influence on the white monks; and on the Cistercian share in the Gregorian reform in its later stages. On all these topics Professor Hill has new and valuable things to say, based on wide, thorough research among the abundant printed sources for Cistercian history, many of which have never been fully exploited. He shows that the first generation of founders came from the high feudal baronage from the king downward in the

reigns of Henry I and, more particularly, of Stephen. The next generation was made up almost entirely of the knights, who were beginning their slow ascent to the position of a large landowning and administrative class above the yeomen and below the baronage. Here the evidence that their benefactions often had strings attached, such as a small sum of scutage or an annual small rent, reveals a hitherto unfamiliar aspect of the Cistercian departure from the letter and spirit of their primitive legislation, which was also a contributory cause of their frequent financial embarrassment. The chapter on Savigny further illuminates an unduly neglected subject and develops the very plausible opinion that the accession of this disorganized, mediocre congregation was a source of weakness to the English white monks. Finally, the analysis of Cistercian work as judicial agents of the papacy, who ultimately withdrew from tasks that implied involvement with the world and heavy expenses, is original and valuable.

While all these chapters reveal careful and exact scholarship, the short introductory account of the Cistercian origins is not wholly reliable. The topic is very involved, and Hill had no direct concern with it, but he fails to note that Cîteaux was the second attempt (Molesme being the first) of Alberic, Stephen, and others to establish a strict observance of the Rule, and this leads him to place the foundation of Cîteaux in the pontificate of Gregory VII. Further, he is not fully abreast of the copious literature on Cistercian origins, which has established that the *Carta Caritatis* was a composite and gradually evolving text.

This, however, in no way affects the value, interest, and sound judgment of the main chapters of the book.

London, England

M. D. KNOWLES

SOCIETÀ E STATO NEL MEDIOEVO VENEZIANO (SECOLI XII-XIV).

By *Giorgio Cracco*. [Civiltà veneziana, Studi, Number 22. Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Centro di cultura e civiltà.] (Florence: Leo S. Olschki. 1967. Pp. xiv, 491.)

THE central theme of Giorgio Cracco's important new interpretation of Venetian history in the communal age is the political, social, and economic contraction which, in the author's view, gradually transformed the dynamic and broadly based commune of the twelfth century into a narrow, oligarchical state by the end of the fourteenth century. Seeking to explain Venetian political evolution through analysis of underlying social and economic developments, he sees as central to this period a pattern of dialectic within Venetian society. It begins with an early communal power struggle between *grandi* and *popolo grasso*, then evolves into fourteenth-century contention within the defined ruling class over the direction of Venetian policy in the face of a grave economic crisis, particularly in the Levantine trade. This narrowing of the dialectic to an increasingly restricted element of Venetian society resulted, in Cracco's view, in the rigid, hierarchical state of the Renaissance and the *ancien régime*.

This suggestive and original interpretation, based largely on sensitive handling of published source material and an impressive use of suggestions from recent historical literature, performs the highly significant service of putting Venetian history into a larger Italian and European context. Although Cracco's phrasing of

economic developments is open to question, his discussion of Venice's commercial difficulties in relation to its political and social development is an innovation in Venetian historiography. While the new issues he raises are important, however, his conclusions merit further discussion. Many of Cracco's delineations of social conflict are based on evidence that is suggestive rather than conclusive. Indeed, in his concern to illustrate the socioeconomic dialectic he frequently constructs opposing social categories that seem to me gratuitous, even misleading. The researches of Gino Luzzatto and others have shown that patrician economic association constantly cut across the factional lines that Cracco dramatically draws. Consequently, the political contention he depicts as deriving from opposing noble economic interests is questionable.

Yet reservations about the degree to which Cracco carries his dialectical approach cannot obscure his book's achievement. With impressive erudition and an exceptional historical intelligence he has placed the Venetian experience fully into the larger perspective of late medieval Italian history. The very socioeconomic approach he employs, moreover, further illuminates problems that have been glossed over in the past by historians sympathetic to the Venetian achievement. In a word, Cracco has both reopened Venetian medieval and Renaissance history and offered a strong and stimulating configuration of it.

Michigan State University

STANLEY CHOJNACKI

THE DECLINE OF ENGLISH FEUDALISM, 1215-1540. By J. M. W. Bean.
(New York: Barnes and Noble. 1968. Pp. xii, 335. \$8.00.)

THE decline of English feudalism is a grand subject for a book today, when many specialized investigations await synthesis. The title of the book under review is, unfortunately, a misnomer; it should read "The Decline in the Value of Feudal Incidents in England." Relief, wardship and marriage, forfeiture and escheat are its concern, not fiefs or services, not homage or fealty, nor yet lordship and vassalage. Indeed, forfeiture and escheat are given little attention, and "our theme is the development of the feudal lord's fiscal rights over his tenants and their importance in the development of English landownership." This is certainly a valid subject for investigation, but it is a great disappointment beside the grander theme suggested by the title.

Within the limitations of its subject, the monograph makes useful contributions to the history of English land law and politics in its period. Its account of the events leading up to and proceeding from the statutes of mortmain and *Quia Emptores* contains much that is novel and interesting. It makes quite clear that a struggle was waged and won on the part of most landowners for freedom to alienate their property without their lords' approval; only the crown retained a right to license alienations, and the licenses were virtually for sale. The central third of the book deals with the development and employment of "uses," the legal device of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, which accomplished many of the purposes of a modern trust. By granting his real estate to feoffees for the use of himself or others at his direction, especially by last will and testament, a landowner could avoid payment of the feudal incidents of relief or wardship, could secure the payment of his debts from his land after his death, and could

provide for wife, daughters, and cadets otherwise than the common law permitted. Clearly such "uses" were to the detriment of feudal lordship, and the lack of opposition to their development is distinctly worthy of discussion. Only when the Yorkist and early Tudor kings were seeking to maximize nonparliamentary revenues was an effort made by the crown to limit "uses." The account of these monarchs' efforts, their successes and failures, is perhaps the most interesting part of the book. An appendix on "*Quia Emptores* and Bastard Feudalism" makes the valuable point that the latter did not depend upon the former. More or less incidental contributions on wills and testaments and on the equitable jurisdiction of the chancellor should also be remarked.

Mr. Bean is a painstaking scholar and tireless in his analyses. But his conclusions can be no better than his evidence. Some sections of his book have a hypothetical quality because, as none is more aware than he, he has not yet surmounted the mountain of financial and court records that remain from this period. Consequently, many of his ideas await verification and quantification. Perhaps he will supply this in the other works he promises us.

University of Connecticut

FRED A. CAZEL, JR.

ACTES RELATIFS À LA PRINCIPAUTÉ DE MORÉE, 1289-1300. Published by Charles Perrat and Jean Longnon. [Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale, Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques, Section de Philologie et d'Histoire, jusqu'à 1610. Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France, Series in-8°, Volume VI.] (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale. 1967. Pp. 243.)

THIS book contains 243 documents concerning the history of the French principality of Morea, or Achaea, in southern Greece during the reign of Charles II of Anjou, focusing upon the principate of Florence of Hainaut (1289-1297) and his widow, Isabeau de Villehardouin (1297-1300). Its aim is to "constitute as complete a collection as possible of the documents concerning Greek affairs at that time . . . above all the principality of Morea and its dependencies. . . ." An appendix contains the text of the treaty of May 24, 1267, by which Guillaume de Villehardouin, prince of Achaea, granted Achaea to Charles I of Anjou, brother of Saint Louis, with the cession to take effect after the grantor's death. (Three days later Baldwin II, the former Emperor of the Latin kingdom of Constantinople, ceded Charles I suzerainty of Achaea.)

Almost all the documents published here are Professor Charles Perrat's copies of originals in the famous Angevin registers in Naples, which were destroyed in September 1943. Many relate to political and diplomatic history, especially "the Greek policy of Charles II . . ."; others illuminate economic, social, and religious matters.

This is an excellent edition. Most of the documents are reproduced in their entirety, and each is prefaced by a brief summary of its contents and by bibliographic citations of any previous editions. The numerous annotations are extremely useful, and the volume includes a map and separate indexes of proper names and notable matters. For those who insist that every review contain at

least one cavil, future works of this sort might also have a chronological or numerical list and a brief, itemized description of their complete contents.

The introduction has a survey of principal events in the complex political and diplomatic history of Morea in the second half of the thirteenth century. Helpful, too, are the frequent citations of earlier publications of documents and some secondary works related to Achaea and the Angevin dominions in general.

This is a fine and worthwhile piece of scholarship.

University of California, Davis

WILLIAM M. BOWSKY

THE ROYAL POLICY OF RICHARD II: ABSOLUTISM IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES. By *Richard H. Jones*. (New York: Barnes and Noble. 1968. Pp. vi, 199. \$6.00).

THIS book attempts to get behind Shakespeare's "indelible portrait" of Richard II and the more recent interpretations of the reign. The author wishes to portray Richard in terms "meaningful to his contemporaries," yet intelligible to modern students. His thesis is that "it was policy, not caprice, which impelled the king along the career that led from the throne to mysterious oblivion in the dungeons of Pontefract; and in combining to destroy Richard, the English community made a momentous [though evidently unconscious] decision concerning the nature of its relationship to the crown." Richard's conceptions of both monarchy and the social order were conservative and traditional, not revolutionary. The King undertook no daring administrative innovations, but tried to govern as his predecessors had, through established procedures, using his household, especially the chamber, yet depending on the cooperation of the great officers of state. He used Parliament as an extension of royal power, but did not attempt to subvert its powers. He emphasized the symbols and rituals of monarchy in the spirit of an age in which such outward show "helped to maintain the prestige which had formerly been based upon tacit recognition of function." He also, it is true, articulated more clearly the claims for prerogative absolutism and developed a more highly centralized bureaucracy, but this he was forced to do by the aggressions of the magnates and the disorder of the times. Three generations of experience were required before middle-class Englishmen would support strong monarchy because they recognized the evils of magnate rule. Richard was an absolutist, not a despot.

This interpretation offers attractions, but it requires that one neglect much of the evidence. Jones aligns himself with Galbraith against Anthony Steel's "seductive analysis" of Richard as a neurotic. He gives us no new insight into the King's personality. Richard was "nervous, temperamental, sensitive," and tenacious in pursuit of aims though politically naïf, but he was "not by any standard mad." Steel laid himself open to this sort of criticism by failing to distinguish between neurosis and psychosis. Jones tries to avoid the issue altogether by implying that the King's personality is irrelevant in understanding what he did and why he failed. This will not work. Contemporaries may have misunderstood Richard, but they reacted vigorously to the person who was there.

Jones does not revise the basic narrative of events. After the Shrewsbury Parliament, for example, Richard still wanders about the Midlands accompanied by four hundred Cheshire archers. He demands submissions, oaths of loyalty, and

forced loans. For Jones, this is the first free and full public expression of fundamental beliefs about monarchy that Richard had always cherished. The opposition failed to understand and rejected the logical implications of medieval monarchy. The main contributions attempted in this book are the placing of Richard's concept of monarchy in the frame of reference of contemporary political philosophy and the exploration of possible sources of influence on the King through advisers and associates, especially during the formative years. The results are disappointing.

The style of the book is difficult, sometimes obscure. What, for example, is one to make of the statement that the use to which Richard's allegedly cheerful abdication was put by Henry "is important to an understanding of the relationship between the Lancastrians and their parliaments, but the recognition of its falsehood is equally important as documentary testimony to the tenacity with which Richard clung to his own notion of the sanctity of the monarchy." Or what, indeed, is one to make of the last sentence of the text: "In the final analysis his blunders of statecraft were of less significance as causes of his fall than was the incapacity of kingship in his generation to command and serve community." It was, after all, Richard, sometime King, not medieval monarchy, that died in Pontefract castle.

Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey

MARGARET HASTINGS

BARCELONE: CENTRE ÉCONOMIQUE À L'ÉPOQUE DES DIFFICULTÉS, 1380-1462. In two volumes. By *Claude Carrère*. [École Pratique des Hautes Études—Sorbonne. VI^e Section: Sciences économiques et sociales. Civilisations et Sociétés, Number 5.] (Paris: Mouton & Company. 1967. Pp. 522; 532-993.)

A STRIKING feature of Spanish history under the Catholic Kings and the early Habsburgs is the minor role played by Catalonia in the new Spanish nation and its European and American dependencies, in contrast to the principality's prominence in the central Middle Ages and again in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Since the explanation lies in significant part in the ten years of fierce civil war that wrecked Catalan society and Barcelona's leading position as a commercial, industrial, and financial center from 1462, these two substantial volumes on the eighty-year period prior to the catastrophe are of exceptional importance. Based upon exhaustive archival research and presenting much new, lucidly analyzed material, they do not claim to resolve all the problems of the Catalan decline; indeed Mlle. Carrère concludes that, but for the deep-rooted social and political antagonisms, the economic crises might have been surmounted. But the economic factor is obviously so central that, without such a work as this, the other elements of the breakdown could not be understood.

Of the book's three subdivisions, the first describes at length the organization and business methods of the Barcelona merchant class, with particular attention to familial continuity, types of mercantile activity, mechanisms of capital investment, operation of the port of Barcelona, and the functioning of commercial brokers. Part Two deals with "structures": the shipbuilding industry and merchant navy (with admirable treatment of ship financing, recruitment of officers and crews, and handling of freight and passenger traffic); the funneling into the

capital city of the principality's foodstuffs and raw materials; industry, above all the great cloth trades with their valuable orientation toward export abroad; and the vital markets in Europe, North Africa, and the Near East. Finally, Part Three dissects the successive phases of the worsening economic crisis from 1380 on, marked by demographic decline, falling wages, widespread unemployment, bank failures, bankruptcies, the vicious but not economically disastrous pogrom of 1391, and the inflationary consequences of the drain of Catalan gold and silver specie into France and its replacement by debased French currency. Confrontation with these problems widened the gap between the Catalan *rentier* class, which aimed at protecting its fixed income from lands and controlling the reins of political power in the Cortes and in Barcelona's municipal government, and the coalition of merchants and craftsmen who sought governmental action to remedy their economic ills, and this conflict led to the ruinous civil war. Barcelona, with its heavily foreign-oriented industrial and commercial system, was especially affected by the general economic depression in Europe from 1428 to 1429, and when, in 1453, the bourgeois-artisan coalition, with royal support, gained control of municipal affairs, it was too late to stave off the war that came nine years later.

Since Carrère sees the economic crisis as ultimately soluble and thus less immediately responsible for the disaster than the nearsighted reactionary policies of the *rentier* classes, she cannot properly be criticized for neglecting the noneconomic aspects of the problem, especially since she promises a further work along these lines. There are, however, certain questions this monumental study leaves unanswered. Why was the Catalan bourgeoisie, at the accession of the favorably disposed Castilian Trastámara dynasty in the Crown of Aragon in 1412, so much less effective in securing large political and economic concessions than its Portuguese counterpart in the Aviz revolution of 1383-1385? Why did the Catalans lose out so miserably to the Genoese in commercial and financial relations with Castile, above all in Andalusia, the base for merchant capital moving eventually toward America? And since recovery from even the bitterest civil war need not take three centuries, does not the chance conjuncture of the conflict of 1462 with the new Spain's commercial shift toward the North Atlantic merit more emphasis?

University of Virginia

C. J. BISHKO

Modern Europe

WILLIAM III AND LOUIS XIV: ESSAYS 1680-1720 BY AND FOR MARK A. THOMSON. Edited by Ragnhild Hatton and J. S. Bromley. With an introductory memoir by Sir George Clark. ([Toronto:] University of Toronto Press. 1968. Pp. x, 332. \$7.25.)

THOUGH the title suggests a narrow focus on kings, this book is about the whole of diplomacy and war in Northern Europe after 1680. Mark Thomson's own fine articles, republished here, give a unity to the volume that the essays presented by his friends and pupils generally respect. This is nearly a model *Festschrift* for a scholar whose death did not permit him to complete the book of which these articles were a significant beginning. Only two essays out of the

sixteen published, neither of the two by Thomson himself, lack significance: the interception of posts in Celle merited a note, and the English newspapers from 1695 to 1702 are such an important topic that their too general treatment here adds little to what is already known.

This volume, though not dated, took at least four years to prepare; the absence of any reference to recent works by S. Baxter on William III or by G. Holmes on Anne's reign weakens its contribution, however. Much has been done on this period, from the days of O. Klopp and A. Legrelle down to the present; hence the contribution of this volume is one of retouching a familiar picture of Europe.

For Thomson the study of diplomacy involved the conflict of interests, whether national or dynastic, and how principles, including religion, determined policies. He saw William III and Louis XIV as the only sovereigns of their age who perceived and had the will to grapple with the conflicts between states that lead to war or peace. They tried to anticipate future conflicts, notably in making the partition treaties, and to avoid them. Other kings lacked the vision, pragmatism, and energy to do anything but respond traditionally to the initiatives of others. Louis, more than William, is depicted as someone who balanced between pragmatic diplomacy and the application of principles such as divine right in foreign policy. William clearly remained an enigma to Thomson while Louis fascinated him, particularly in regard to the apparent "mistakes" that Louis made in dealing with William over the years.

The portraits of Louis and William vary from article to article. J. S. Bromley describes William's talent as a naval strategist; A. Lossky sees Louis as being overinfluenced in his decisions by "maxims," those principles that he held to be true about different states and peoples; Thomson himself depicts the Sun King as more flexible and always willing to negotiate; Ragnhild Hatton's analysis of Louis's and William's competitive efforts to buy influence in Sweden suggests that the Swedes walked the neutralist tightrope successfully, thanks to Oxenstierna, who alone as a prominent supporter of Vienna blocked a Franco-Swedish alliance. Maxims, as Lossky describes, however, are not quite the same as historical arguments in diplomacy, and it is significant that in his efforts to win Swedish support Louis insisted on the old ties of friendship that had bound the two countries before. John Rule's excellent analysis of Torcy's relationship with Louis is an outstanding contribution in the book because it demythologizes Louis, even from the myths Louis allowed to be created for himself, and shows him unsure of what to do to make peace, seeking advice from divided councilors, and prudent at least in old age. Rule amplifies Thomson's view and that expounded in a recent biography by J. B. Wolf, but, as Lossky suggests, Louis may have acted differently in the 1680's.

Columbia University

OREST RANUM

EUROPE OVERSEAS: PHASES OF IMPERIALISM. By *Raymond F. Betts*.
(New York: Basic Books. 1968. Pp. ix, 206. \$5.00.)

THIS, as the author says, is a small volume on a large subject, and, as he also says, it is an introduction to the subject. Written in a calm and judicious manner,

the book will serve well those students beginning the study of imperialism. The stress is on the new empires, those since 1870, with only one chapter being devoted to the earlier empires.

Imperialism is defined as "consciously undertaken state activity . . . to secure the long-range political or economic domination of foreign territory or peoples. . . ." In addition, Betts treats it as a significant aspect of foreign policy.

The new empires, he writes and I here paraphrase, were administrative and expropriative empires in which European residence was minimal, the land was worked by native and not European hands, the social components were never fused, the indigenous political systems were not usually abolished or successfully reformed, and the indigenous populations remained untrained and illiterate. For the merchants of the imperial powers the new empires were mainly sources of raw materials. They did not pay "nationally," though for some entrepreneurs, such as Taubman Goldie in Nigeria, they were "handsomely paying propositions." No nation in history, however, "rivalled the ability of Hapsburg Spain to impoverish itself with riches."

As the modern empires developed, there was a neat division of labor, with the colonies providing raw materials and the imperial powers the industry, while the colonies remained undeveloped and the powers modernized. In the main, as Bryce believed in the case of India and Britain, the powers did something for the people, but permitted nothing to be done by the people. For four hundred years the empires "arched majestically," but then they disintegrated swiftly. European imperialism was a great political and cultural force that eventually led to revolutionary nationalism and the end of empire.

Betts's narrative flows smoothly, and occasional pithy sentences enliven it. His conclusions present few if any surprises, yet they are, obviously, based on wide reading and calm reflection. This book will please neither old empire builders nor ardent new nationalists. Many of the new nations, Betts thinks, consist of a "cabinet, a flag, and a seat in the United Nations." Both capitalist and Communist theories of nationalism are critically evaluated. Just as the world of the old Mercator projection with Europe at its center no longer represents the world, so these theories now seem strangely irrelevant.

I raise three issues, all debatable. The classic interpretation of Hobson has been rightly criticized, but Betts does not stress the economic aspects of imperialism as much as the evidence seems to warrant. If political imperialism is dead, economic interest is not. Nationalism may be more important than Betts indicates, though he quotes Bülow's famous remark, "We do not want to put anyone in the shade, but . . . demand a place in the sun for ourselves." Thirdly, I would have liked more and more definite examples of imperialism, in the manner of the good old book of Parker T. Moon. But perhaps Betts, had he written a longer book, would have offered them.

Hilaire Belloc once quipped that Europeans had the Maxim gun and colonial peoples did not. The day of the supremacy of the machine gun and Europeans is apparently over. Yet Europe left a magnificent and sometimes awful legacy. Perhaps this will be the subject of other books.

THE GLASS INDUSTRY OF THE WEALD. By *G. H. Kenyon*. With a foreword by *D. B. Harden*. ([Leicester:] Leicester University Press. 1967. Pp. xxii, 231, 22 plates. 50s.)

HERE is a splendid example of the work produced by local historians and antiquarians in England. Meticulous in his research and dependent on the work of predecessors in the field—the Reverend T. S. Cooper and S. E. Winbolt—Kenyon has updated their research in the study of forest glasshouses in the Weald. The study has value for those whose interests are broader than medieval and early modern glassmaking techniques in Sussex. It was intended for people interested in the glass industry as a whole, and the author makes no claim that it is a specialized, technical, or archaeological treatise in the usual sense. He provides the pertinent published material and evidence from diggings on the sites, as well as supplying the reader with a fascinating report on the conditions of this minor industry in England.

The industry was never large in the Weald; it reached its greatest importance in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The migration to England of French glassmakers led by Jean Carré during the 1570's and 1580's accounts for the industry's increasing its size some four or five times in the last half century of its existence. After giving the reader some account of the difference in the quality of the later glass in order to distinguish it from that which predated Jean Carré, the author indicates the varied reasons for the migration of the Frenchmen to England. One is easily tempted to assume that the Frenchmen came to England because of religious persecution, and some of these men were Huguenots. It is clear, however, that religious beliefs were not the motivation; rather it was owing to the overcrowded nature of French glassmaking and the great opportunities provided for clever glassmakers in England, where demand for glass was increasing rapidly. The forest glass industry declined as rapidly as it had increased its production. Kenyon attributes the reason for the decline as being the growing scarcity of wood as a fuel and the development of coal-fired furnaces. By 1615 there was a royal proclamation in England prohibiting the use of wood fuel in glass furnaces. This drove the glass industry away from the Weald. Many of the workers went elsewhere in England and opened a new stage of glassmaking with the use of coal furnaces.

Kenyon's referral to the socioeconomic situation in England in medieval and early modern times balances the study. True to his goal of giving the reader as much explicit information as possible about the glass industry of the Weald, the author breaks his study down into many chapters that discuss wages and transport and marketing of the glass, supply all known information on families involved with the industry, and describe glasshouse sites; he catalogues the numbered sites of glasshouses in other chapters. The book is handsome and provides excellent plates of drawings as well as interesting and pertinent photographic illustrations.

Goucher College

GEORGE A. FOOTE

OCCUPATIONAL COSTUME IN ENGLAND: FROM THE ELEVENTH CENTURY TO 1914. By *Phillis Cunnington* and *Catherine Lucas*. With chapters by *Alan Mansfield*. (New York: Barnes and Noble. 1967. Pp. 427. \$9.00.)

THE aim of the authors, and of their principal collaborator, Alan Mansfield, who contributes chapters on the specialized occupations of workers in transportation, seafaring, and in the fire brigades and police, is to complement available volumes on English dress that have tended to concentrate almost exclusively on the high fashion of the leisure classes. The text, replete with literary and historical references, is enhanced by over three hundred line drawings, and many half-tone illustrations and photographs, all well chosen from contemporary sources. It provides entertaining reading for both the specialist and general reader, and many novel facts abound; for instance, pockets, unknown in medieval garments, were first introduced in sixteenth-century trunk hose, then into breeches, and finally appeared, mostly as ornaments, in coats as late as the seventeenth century.

As each chapter deals with an occupation or group of related occupations and attempts to trace the development of adaptive garments and traditional accessories over the centuries, there are some overlapping, repetition, and disjointedness in the volume, but part of the inconvenience is overcome by a good index. The two final chapters endeavor to generalize on those conditions that have encouraged or discouraged the growth of functional dress in England; they show a continuous conflict between the desire for ornamentation and the need for utility in work clothes, particularly in protective garments, which the authors find have been "so few, so feeble and so fixed in their design." It is also demonstrated that the nineteenth century marks the real beginnings of diversity in working dress, in contrast to comparative uniformity during earlier times. It was, moreover, an age of many new materials for garments—for example, elastic was invented in the 1820's, and galoshes made of rubber, rather than leather, began to be used for protective purposes a decade later. This factor, together with a growing interest in hygiene and safety and the relative affluence of the twentieth century speeded development of efficient work clothing. On the other hand, class consciousness and fear of ridicule by fellow workers still perpetuate what the authors call "the rationale of irrational clothes" for workers.

University of South Carolina

GEORGE CURRY

ENGLAND UNDER THE YORKISTS AND TUDORS, 1471-1603. By *P. J. Helm*. (New York: Humanities Press. 1968. Pp. xi, 372. \$5.50.)

At the outset, Helm states that he intends "to keep narrative as such to a minimum"; he does so by encapsulating events into two or three pages at the start of each chapter, and so his history is one without story. Instead, the organization is segmentary, and he concentrates on the "main problems." These are conventional: Henry VII's restoration of regal power, Henry VIII's male heir and his divorces, the monasteries and money, Mary's Roman restoration, the Anglican settlement, and the Armada. The book is encyclopedic in character

and is a masterful synthesis of Tudor specialists' current conclusions. A terse prose enabled Helm to compress into 362 pages a maximum of doings, dates (Praise be!), data, and statistics, along with many quotations from the sources both in the text and appended to each chapter. How good that he gives more space and stress than usual to economic and financial matters; these sections cover not just government deficits and debased currency, but entrepreneurial capitalism, private profit, and the making of fortunes "out of the new world of finance" like the £100,000 Palavicino left at "his death in 1600" (Or was it, as the author later states, 1610?). Elsewhere excellent epitomes of recent writings, as of Neale's three volumes on Parliament, are done with dexterity.

Helm is, moreover, fair and judicious on controversial issues, but this at times results in an indecisive neutralism. He quotes a full page of Creighton's eulogistic and imaginative estimate of Wolsey in order to counterbalance the modern historical depiction of the cardinal "as a disappointing figure." As for his disciple, Thomas Cromwell, Helm adheres to the Eltonian aberration that substitutes Cromwell for Henry Tudor as the ruler during the 1530's, the one decade in all English history (except, perhaps, during Henry II's reign) when the king's personality determined England's destiny. After packing Henry VIII off to bed with his wives, Helm follows Elton's Cromwellocentric conclusions. Cromwell, admittedly, administered the realm, but Helm forgets that the motivation—the desires and demands, the ideas and the will power—was the King's. A British penchant for administrative history may explain this distortion, and at times Helm seems to see Tudor history from the constricted viewpoint of the bureaucrat rather than through the eyes of Elizabeth and Essex. Hence, the heroic and the dramatic give way to analyses of institutions, facts, and figures; even an admirable chapter on arts and letters is more taxonomic than aesthetic. Also, the "Tudor political thought," which Helm summarizes, is largely orthodox political theology drawn from academic tracts, and, though he quotes James Morice and Richard Hooker to show "the Crown under the Law," he fails to notice their recognition of the rule of law as a fundamental principle of governance. Such points that Helm fails to make give the book an unripened look, but to ask a young historian for original and imaginative interpretations is unfair. Helm need not, however, have missed several points: the 1539 Act of Proclamations was intended to supplement, not to supersede statute law, and to provide "speedy remedies" and due process in emergencies and only until "an ordinary law should be provided, by . . . parliament." Also, the legality in England of Mary's Roman Catholic restoration depended upon neither canon nor divine but rather upon statute law, and he might have noted Elizabeth's skillful use of patronage (rewards and favors) and "the arts of persuasion and manipulation," those precursors of Georgian influence and management. Helm's historiographical knowledge of Tudor England is impressive and yet insular. Only one continental scholar, a Frenchman, "L. Cohen," is cited, and only one professor in North America, "L. Stone," makes the index. Far worse, the writings and ideas of Americans like Hexter and MacCaffrey, L. B. Smith and L. B. Wright, and others are ignored.

Yale University

WILLIAM H. DUNHAM, JR.

THE HERBERTS OF WILTON. By *Tresham Lever*. (New York: Hillary House. 1967. Pp. xiv, 270. \$8.00.)

THE Herberts, earls of Pembroke and Montgomery, have been one of the foremost English aristocratic families since the sixteenth century, although they have never played a part in national affairs comparable to that of the Russells, Cavendishes, or Cecils. Their principal seat, Wilton, with its "Cube and Double Cube" rooms by Inigo Jones and John Webb, its Van Dycks and other art collections, and its famous Palladian bridge, is among the best-known and most admired houses in the country. Sir Tresham Lever, previously the author of a biography of Godolphin and a "group biography" of the Pitt family, has now written a disappointing account of the more eminent members of the family from William Herbert, its Tudor founder, to Sidney Herbert, the friend and associate of Florence Nightingale. His brief biographical sketches, drawn almost entirely from familiar sources, add very little to what is already well known about their subjects.

It is regrettable that he does not provide any deeper insight into their characters since most of them were all too typical of the least admirable qualities of their times. The first Earl was one of the most notorious Tudor timeservers; he was involved in every major conspiracy, but he managed, by astute changes of position, to augment his wealth under every sovereign and minister from Henry VIII and Cromwell to Elizabeth and Cecil. The fifth Earl, an ignorant and stupid man, notoriously drunken and profane but a prime favorite of Charles I, deserted his master during the Civil Wars and became a prominent "front" for the Parliamentarians for no discernible motive except picking the winning side to preserve his estates. The seventh Earl (1653-1683) was repeatedly indicted for murder committed in drunken rages, but he always escaped punishment because of his rank. The tenth Earl, whose career as a feckless rake and wastrel was revealed in two entertaining volumes of his, his wife's, and his mistresses' correspondence published by the present (sixteenth) Earl a few years ago, was perhaps the most ineffective eighteenth-century peer, although much more agreeable than his ancestors. Lever admires them too much and too uncritically to bring out any of these characteristics, except for the seventh Earl, "the most violent homicide of his age."

The book contains very little information on the history of Wilton House and its contents, or on the grounds. The political activities of the family, local and national, receive inadequate treatment. Most serious of all, there is no discussion of the accumulation and management of the family's estates and fortune, the sole source of their long pre-eminence. As a result, *The Herberts of Wilton* is only a pleasant and readable collection of familiar anecdotes and brief personal biographies of some well-known members of an aristocratic family over the past four hundred years. It is not, however, family history as it should and can be written to illuminate the course of English social, economic, and political history.

Emory University

ROBERT A. SMITH

A CALENDAR OF LETTERS RELATING TO NORTH WALES, 1533-CIRCA 1700: FROM THE LLANFAIR-BRYNODOL, GLODDAETH, CROSSE OF SHAW HILL AND RHUAL COLLECTIONS IN THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF WALES. Edited by *B. E. Howells*. [Board of Celtic Studies, University of Wales. History and Law Series, Number 23.] (Cardiff: University of Wales Press. 1967. Pp. x, 287, 5 tables. 50s.)

CALENDAR OF THE RECORDS OF THE BOROUGH OF HAVERFORDWEST, 1539-1660. Edited by *B. G. Charles*. [Board of Celtic Studies, University of Wales. History and Law Series, Number 24.] (Cardiff: University of Wales Press. 1967. Pp. viii, 274. 55s.)

FAMILY muniments, great sessions and quarter sessions records, and borough and parish records form the five main groups of archives produced, as it were, on the ground in Wales during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. These volumes present valuable and important material drawn from two of these groups. Family muniments as a rule contain a vast number of deeds, mortgages, and other legal documents; letters are by no means so numerously preserved. Hence the decision to publish a calendar of letters extracted from the muniments of four different gentry families in North Wales was in itself justified and has been amply justified by the manner of its execution. Save for a few dating from the sixteenth century, the letters calendared by Mr. Howells relate to the seventeenth century and are particularly good for the period of the Civil War and Commonwealth. The Gloddaeth letters considerably illuminate the organization of a county militia in the years immediately following the Restoration; the Rhual letters will be of interest to the student of early Nonconformity. Most of these letters, however, relate to the private affairs of the families concerned and of their correspondents; they provide a wealth of evidence illustrating the life of the Welsh gentry under the Stuarts.

The Haverfordwest volume deals with a different section of Welsh society during this period. Wales under the Tudors and Stuarts had few towns, and these were very small. Haverfordwest, probably the most flourishing of them, also had the distinction of being the only county borough in the principality. Its records have been well preserved, though relatively few are extant from the sixteenth century. The Haverfordwest officials kept letters as well as more formal records, orders, deeds, and accounts with their archives, and these, as calendared by Dr. Charles, contain a wide range of detailed information relating to the business of municipal administration and to the social and economic life of the borough. Of particular interest are the documents dealing with the town's affairs in time of trouble, during the Civil War and during the plague of 1652. In an appendix Charles has included a valuable run of borough accounts dating from 1563 to 1600. Equipped with admirably pertinent and useful introductions and edited with impressive care and skill, both calendars form a most welcome addition to the printed sources available for the study of the history of Wales, particularly its social and economic aspects, in the early modern period.

University College of Wales, Aberystwyth

W. O. WILLIAMS

DORSET ELIZABETHANS: AT HOME AND ABROAD. By *Rachel Lloyd*. (New York: Hillary House. 1967. Pp. xviii, 332. \$8.50.)

As the title suggests, *Dorset Elizabethans* is not a history of Elizabethan Dorset, but rather a study of prominent local personalities and events. Rachel Lloyd has sought to capture the drama and adventure of the Elizabethan Age and to illustrate well-known historical themes with Dorset examples. Her Dorset men were bold and courageous; they also practiced violence and freely defied the laws of the land when it suited their personal whims. Elizabethan society was ordered only in theory, for in the daily routine of life there was a harsh struggle for survival in which every man had to shift for himself. Notorious as a haven for pirates and smugglers, Dorset also contained a motley collection of corrupt and inefficient officials who were partners in crime. The county teemed with Catholic gentry—the Arundells, Turbervilles, and Tregonwells—who heeded the Queen's religious laws as little as the pirates respected the laws of the sea. Perhaps the most interesting native son was George Turberville of Shapwick, translator and poet. A Catholic loyal to the Queen, he survived both an attempted murder (during which he dealt a fatal blow to his attacker) and a visit to the court of Ivan the Terrible in Moscow.

Although based on extensive research, this book is disappointing because it never probes deeply into the social fabric of the county. Lloyd is content to tell a good tale and emphasize the superficial drama of the age. She begins with the romantic assumption that the Elizabethan period was grand and glorious and merely supplies the details from her county that support this conclusion. The final chapter on "The Atheism of Sir Walter Raleigh" is really a miniature biography of a man who was scarcely a local personality, and it digresses in a truly extraordinary fashion. Some generalizations are dangerously misleading; for example, there are rather trite references to the "typical" Renaissance man. The book is cluttered with complicated genealogies and abounds in tedious antiquarian detail. Readers who live beyond the boundaries of Dorset and want a helpful guide to the county will not receive a very hearty welcome; a writer who insists that "one must visit the little church of St. Peter the Apostle at Church Knowle in Purbeck" to appreciate John Clavell, father of Sir William, agent of the Lord President of Ireland in 1598, is a poor host indeed. Parochialism has always been the curse of local history, but in a period when some of the best historical scholarship is being done in this field, it is particularly to be regretted that the author failed to rise to the challenge of her subject.

Kent State University

BARRETT L. BEER

FRANCIS BACON: FROM MAGIC TO SCIENCE. By *Paolo Rossi*. Translated by *Sacha Rabinovitch*. ([Chicago:] University of Chicago Press. 1968. Pp. xvii, 280. \$5.95.)

THIS 1957 book is worthy of translation and will be welcomed by Baconian scholars and by students of early modern science or general intellectual history. It is an intellectual biography in the sense that it traces the origins and the develop-

ment of Bacon's significant thought. Rossi has successfully demonstrated the extent to which Bacon was a product of his past, the degree to which he was influenced by his own age, and the ways in which he broke with both.

Rossi's work demonstrates that Bacon lived in the web of magic, superstition, and the alchemical tradition of his age and that he found it impossible to escape. At the same time, he stalked Aristotle's ghost, recognized the scientific influence of the mechanical arts, bent his efforts toward changing man's attitude toward nature, and assisted in ushering in a more modern age. Any reader will better understand Bacon's method and his utilitarian view of nature after completing this work: science is to benefit mankind; it extends the limits of man's power over nature; there are, however, limits.

Bacon does not emerge as a hero; this is an honest appraisal. Rossi does not dwell long on the naïve or the absurd in Bacon, but he clearly indicates that here is not the inventor of the inductive method. It is made evident that Bacon was hardly a mathematician, and he was, therefore, not completely in tune with the emphases that produced Galileo and Newton. Mathematics was the alphabet of nature for Galileo, but for Bacon the alphabet was, as Rossi makes clear, the irreducible qualities of a perceptible substance. Rossi is a bit too charitable in referring to Bacon's "uncertain views on mathematics."

Rossi overemphasizes somewhat the sterility of the universities of the Baconian age. Sophistry, affectation, and dry academicism were to be found in abundance, and it is true that the Elizabethan Statutes of 1570 reveal little else. But the lives of professors and students make it clear that the other side of the coin was often quite different.

Excellent footnotes with a full bibliography accompany the work. Unfortunately, they follow the last chapter, making their use disruptive and inconvenient. This is not a book for beginners, who will be unfamiliar with the names and ideas of the age. Those who are already at home in the seventeenth century will be grateful to the author and the translator.

University of Missouri, St. Louis

GLEN R. DRISCOLL

CHARLES MIDDLETON: THE LIFE AND TIMES OF A RESTORATION POLITICIAN. By *George Hilton Jones*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1967. Pp. 332. \$10.00.)

MIDDLETON's youth, traced through estate documents and casual references by contemporaries, was not unlike that of many Restoration courtiers: in the train of the ambassador to France, volunteer at Sole Bay, service in the army, second to Mulgrave in three duels. In 1680, for parliamentary purposes, Charles II made a gesture toward an alliance against France, and Middleton was sent as envoy extraordinary to Emperor Leopold I. His first important appointment was in 1682, as joint secretary in Scotland. In 1684 he became English Secretary of State (Northern Department), a post he retained until James II's flight.

Forty volumes of Middleton papers, acquired by the British Museum in 1929, illuminate every side of the secretaryship during his tenure. The general picture of English policy is not notably altered, as the major theme, relations with Louis XIV, was the responsibility of Sunderland. Middleton was concerned with

routine issues: disputes with the Dutch in Bantam; the choice of a successor to the Elector of Cologne; rivalry between Brunswick and Denmark over Hamburg; pursuit of political fugitives in Holland.

On the domestic side, Middleton's Protestantism excused him from participation in the King's more flagrant pro-Catholic schemes, but as a leader of the court party he labored to gain parliamentary approval for royal policy. He signed the order for the arrest of the Seven Bishops, but took part in last-minute efforts to reconcile the Anglicans. The lack of any considerable body of private writings by Middleton makes this part of his life difficult to reconstruct in a completely satisfactory way, but the author has gone much farther than previous writers, content for the most part to quote passages from James II's memoirs or anecdotes from Burnet. Middleton was pliant, but his Protestantism was clearly a significant asset, and it is asserted that his deposition as to the birth of the Prince of Wales was weighty. This is undoubtedly true, for the Bradenburg envoy reported that his testimony and that of one other had the greatest effect because of their standing in the nation.

The summary of the tasks of the secretaryship is a contribution although there is no reference to Peter Fraser's *The Intelligence of the Secretaries of State & Their Monopoly of Licensed News, 1660-1688* (1956). Nor, while Middleton was a member of James's cabinet, is there any consecutive account of this body, which is the more regrettable because that institution is only dimly portrayed by constitutional historians, none of whom apparently had access to the Middleton Papers.

In 1693 Middleton joined James II in France, was converted to Catholicism, and lived abroad until his death in 1719. This section of the book is quite full and presents a clear picture of the troubles that dogged Jacobitism in its early phases.

In summary, a mass of manuscript and printed evidence is here used to present a full account of a statesman of the second rank.

Vanderbilt University

P. H. HARDACRE

POLITICS OF COLONIAL POLICY: THE BOARD OF TRADE IN COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION, 1696-1720. By I. K. Steele. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1968. Pp. xvi, 217. \$6.75.)

IN undertaking a study in a rather well-worked field, I. K. Steele seeks to give it new significance by two devices. Believing that earlier writers have placed "undue emphasis" on the Board of Trade as a "bureaucratic institution," he prefers, as he explains in the introduction, to view it as a "changing group of individuals" with particular political connections and consequently more or less influence with the centers of power. And, without actually announcing this plan, he selects a comparatively few projects of the board for testing his theory that "the Board's influence, much more than its policy, was bound to politics."

This is not, therefore, a work in general colonial administration. And, among the topics treated in some depth, only the resumption of colonial charters and the settlement of the Palatines in New York were in the strictest sense colonial

policies. Other major topics were in the field of trade or diplomacy and related to the colonies only indirectly. This study, therefore, differs from the usual, broader treatment of the subject.

For several reasons Steele's thesis is difficult to sustain. The political picture of the times, if one thinks in terms of parties, as he does, is confused. Members of the board were subject to political patronage; yet changes in the ministry did not necessarily result in a complete change in the board's membership. And while Steele sometimes finds it possible to discover the influence of individuals, he must often refer to the board as a whole.

Though not all the projects emphasized in this discussion attracted political support, most of them illustrate the author's theory in one way or another. Projects might succeed because of general approval, as was the case with the war on piracy, or fail because there was political apathy, as Steele seems to think was the case with the attack on the charters. The history of attempts to reorganize the Royal African Company, on the other hand, fits Steele's theory in a positive way. He is able to show how the fortunes of these attempts followed changes in the ministry. Politics was also apparent in the dwindling support for the Palatine settlement in New York.

The extensive and painstaking research, especially in manuscript sources, ranging from the better-known papers in the Public Record Office and the British Museum through less used records in private libraries both in this country and in England, is particularly notable for the many personal details unearthed. Considering the difficulties inherent in the subject as Steele has defined it, he has handled the problems of selection, organization, and presentation with considerable ability.

Statements of fact seem generally reliable. Unfortunately Steele repeats the error, long ago corrected by Curtis P. Nettels, that the Board of Trade took heed of Northey's warning and made the coinage proclamation of 1704 and the later statute conform to the rates fixed in the Massachusetts act of 1697. As contrasted with the author's special field of competence, impressions of the general administrative background too often lack authenticity.

Those familiar with the period can make allowances where allowances are necessary, and at the same time give credit for a challenging attempt to treat the Board of Trade in a somewhat unconventional manner.

Wilson College

DORA MAE CLARK

MAN VERSUS SOCIETY IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY BRITAIN: SIX POINTS OF VIEW. By *J. H. Plumb et al.* Edited by *James L. Clifford*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1968. Pp. viii, 174. \$6.00.)

THE six papers contained in this volume were originally given at a symposium sponsored by the Conference on British Studies at the University of Delaware and the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum in October 1966. Their aim is to re-examine the generalized conceptions of the period conveyed by such labels as "The Age of Reason" and to discuss what opportunities for self-realization eighteenth-century England (despite its title, Scotland and Wales are largely ignored) gave to the individual. For this purpose each essay deals with a particular

aspect of the age. J. H. Plumb writes on "Political Man," Jacob Viner on "Man's Economic Status," C. R. Cragg on "The Churchman," Rudolf Wittkower on "The Artist," Paul Henry Lang on "The Composer," Bertrand H. Bronson on "The Writer," and James L. Clifford concludes with a summary of the commentaries that followed each contribution. The essays, therefore, fall into two groups, the first dealing with the wider categories of political, economic, and religious activity, the second and narrower with the more personal world of the artist, composer, and writer, to whom self-realization is essential.

In so brief a review it is only possible to indicate the general approach of each writer. Plumb, in a lucid exposition, points out the many ways in which men could engage in meaningful political activities despite the narrowness of the franchise and that this and the oligarchical system of government were much less frustrating than is often supposed. Viner, after considering briefly the English dislike of central government and executive power, by concentrating on what he describes as "The State and Society versus the labouring poor" between 1688 and 1770, gives, it seemed to me, too limited a picture of the economic possibilities available to many Englishmen for material advancement. Cragg's contribution, apart from some attempt to fit the Methodists and evangelicals into his assessment, is more descriptive of the Anglicans' involvement in English political and social life than analytical of the opportunities churchmen enjoyed for religious self-realization. The last three papers have more underlying unity in so far as artist, composer, and writer all had to adjust to a changing society. Wittkower shows the artist as fighting for and, to some extent, with the founding of the Royal Academy, securing an improved social status. Lang stresses the limitations that English indifference to Italian opera placed on native composers. Bronson, in an interesting and perceptive paper, traces the way in which writers came to terms with the impersonal readers created by the printing press through the medium of the novel.

Though this collection is unlikely to bring a blinding flash of fresh illumination to anyone familiar with recent research in these fields, it should be useful to those readers who want to bring their interpretation of the period up to date, or to increase their understanding of some unfamiliar aspect. With most of its contents students of the period will basically agree.

Kendal, Westmorland

DOROTHY MARSHALL

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF JEREMY BENTHAM. Volume I, 1752-76; Volume II, 1777-80. Edited by *Timothy L. S. Sprigge*. [The Collected Works of Jeremy Bentham.] ([London:] University of London, Athlone Press; distrib. by Oxford University Press, New York. 1968. Pp. xli, 383; xiv, 542. \$26.90 the set.)

HERE is a major publishing event: the first two volumes of an eventual thirty-eight in the first collected edition of Bentham since 1843. It is a monumental job that demands the highest skill and courage of a battery of experts, for no single scholar, no matter how brilliantly learned and diligent, could possibly hope to master the many areas of knowledge that Bentham so effortlessly penetrated and so profusely scribbled about. Bowring, his executor, tried it, and it is his

execrable effort of 1843 that students have had to use. His edition is slipshod, uses faulty texts, has no discernible form or standards of scholarly editing, is overshadowed by Mrs. Grundy and so leaves out, for example, all of Bentham's religious and sexual writings.

This great, important new edition seeks to correct all these faults. It aims to be "comprehensive in scope as well as definitive in text." In the event this may prove to be impossible, for Bentham often left his texts in such confusion, it may well be beyond human sagacity to straighten them out. But whatever the editors can do, they will be sure to do, for the project is in the hands of a large corps of dedicated experts, headed by Professor J. H. Burns as general editor. The first two volumes of letters have been edited by Timothy L. S. Sprigge of the University of Sussex under the general supervision of the Bentham Committee, with financial help from the Rockefeller Foundation, the Pilgrim Trust, and the British Academy.

The current working plan calls roughly for ten divisions: correspondence, principles of legislation, penology and criminal law, civil law, constitutional law, political writings, judicial procedure, economics and society, philosophy and education, and religion and the church.

For the general venture there can be nothing but praise and gratitude. Thousands of formerly harassed nineteenth-century and British historians, political scientists, lawyers, and philosophers will now have ready access to one of the most prolific, most neglected (because buried, being either out of print or unpublished), yet most profound minds in the history of Western civilization.

But for these first two volumes of early letters, there must be some misgivings. They are very dry. One wishes that the series could have begun with a bang, but, rather, it begins with a pedantic whimper. These early letters cover the years 1752, when Bentham was four, to 1780, when he was thirty-two and in the midst of writing his magnum opus, *An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation*. It is no one's fault; the letters are simply not very interesting. There is much evidence that Bentham spoke half the night long about his ideas with enthusiastic friends and disciples like John Lind, George Wilson, and his younger brother Sam. But he did not write about them, and in the whole two volumes there are no more than half a dozen at most that touch upon them or are in any way significantly revealing. The Benthames were staunchly middle class, lawyers by training but property-owning *rentiers* by profession; most of the correspondence is made up of references to dozens of obscure people and events connected with their social habits and status that is of little or no general interest now. Poor Sprigge has worked very hard to unravel the long chains of unknown names, but often he can do no more than barely identify them as "clergyman" or "barrister." Not much light has been cast, and the sad fact is that it does not matter very much.

Connecticut College

MARY PETER MACK

THE CHATHAMITES: A STUDY IN THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PERSONALITIES AND IDEAS IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By *Peter Brown*. (New York: St. Martin's Press. 1967. Pp. xv, 516. \$15.00.)

ALTHOUGH this book falls short of its purpose, it is both interesting and useful. The principal contribution lies in the biographical analyses of five men who were associated, at least to a certain degree, with the Elder Pitt and the Earl of Shelburne. Of relatively minor stature when measured against their two eminent leaders, they nonetheless contributed something above and beyond the ordinary to the political and intellectual fabric of life during the first half of the reign of George III.

Richard Price, a leading dissenting divine, left his mark not only on religious thought, but on economics—he was a founder of life insurance—and politics, supporting greater religious toleration and the American and French Revolutions. Colonel Isaac Barré, whose identification with the underprivileged reflected his own utter dependence on Shelburne, championed the separate causes of Wilkes, America, and parliamentary reform. John Dunning, first Lord Ashburton, who, with Barré, represented Shelburne's parliamentary interests, gained eminence as a barrister with a special predilection for cases of constitutional importance and gave yeoman service in behalf of political reform and the curtailment of royal influence. (The peerage and pension of four thousand pounds per year granted him by the Rockingham Whigs in 1782 as a substitute for the woosack placed him in an at least equivocal position.) Wealthy and liberal Bishop Shipley of St. Asaph befriended Benjamin Franklin and his compatriots and spoke out in behalf of wider toleration for Dissenters, blatantly using his influence, both temporal and spiritual, to pursue his ends. Christianity was for Shipley "the most public spirited religion; the most beneficial to states and kingdoms, as well as individuals, which has ever yet appeared upon earth." The versatile Sir William Jones, Shipley's son-in-law and Oxford don, Orientalist, barrister, political reformer, and judge (thanks to Shelburne and Dunning) of the Supreme Court at Calcutta, won high acclaim in the literary and academic fields.

The group shared with Pitt and Shelburne the liberal point of view about several important matters: accommodation with America before the Revolution and friendship with the new republic afterward; parliamentary, fiscal, and administrative reform; constitutional liberty for all British subjects; and the strict limitation of royal patronage. These ideas, which were not monopolized by Chathamites, remained generally unrealized. The reasons are simple: Pitt and Shelburne despised "party," or, as they would have it—"faction." They and their few friends accordingly stood outside the mainstream of British political life. Inevitably, then, and Mr. Brown does not seem sufficiently to recognize the implication, the Chathamites had to depend upon the crown itself, the inner logic of Pitt's refrain, "Measures, not men." They foreshadowed not a new radicalism in British politics, but a new Tory party that would one day coalesce under the leadership of Chatham's younger son.

It is regrettable that Brown chose to omit Charles Pratt, Lord Camden, since without him the term "Chathamite" has but an attenuated meaning. Finally, the book contains defects in style that ought to be corrected before the promised biography of Chatham, one of the greatest stylists of them all, sees the light of day.

Southern Methodist University

CHARLES R. RITCHESON

THE WHIG PARTY AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. By F. O'Gorman. (New York: St. Martin's Press. 1967. Pp. xv, 270. \$9.00.)

For the specialist in the reign of George III, Dr. O'Gorman provides a detailed and well-documented account, complete with four appendixes, a bibliography, and an index, of the decade from 1784, when William Pitt the Younger took over the government from the ill-fated coalition of Fox and North, until the disruption of the Whig opposition of the 1780's and the official association of its titular leader, the Earl of Portland, with the ministry in 1794. Many things besides the outbreak of war with revolutionary France early in 1793 brought about the Whig debacle. The more conservative Whigs were often only remotely interested in parliamentary reform, the abolition of the slave trade, and the removal of the disabilities of Nonconformists in England and Catholics in Ireland, causes dear to the hearts of Fox, Grey, and Sheridan. To differences on such matters was added, after 1789, a fundamentally dissimilar interpretation of the significance and direction of upheavals in France. In the country at large were to be found passionate protagonists both of the *ancien régime* and of the rights of man, but O'Gorman makes clear the gradualness of overt separation of Fox and Burke. To Burke's discontent with Whiggish indifference to his impeachment of Warren Hastings was added his distrust of developments across the Channel, and his progress from suspicion to horror may be traced in the *Reflections* of 1790 and the mounting hysteria of the *Appeal* of 1791. From this to his departure from the party and his support of the war as an ideological struggle against the forces of evil was but a short step.

Fox, on the other hand, though disclaiming all faith in universal suffrage and democracy, could not conceal his admiration for much that was achieved in France; his understanding of the principles of 1688 and of Whiggish sympathy for America in 1776 was basically contrary to that of Burke as well as to that of many of his countrymen. Fox regarded anarchy as temporary, despotism as lasting, and he feared that opposition to France, even during times of its worst excesses, might bring about a general repression of liberty that might be hard to reverse when the war was over.

Fox, moreover, when Burke had discarded any principle that might impede the war effort, maintained a belief in party as "by far the best system, if not the only one for supporting the cause of liberty."

The Whigs before the breakup had, in the 1780's, begun to develop institutional coherence and ideological unity in a concept of party far removed from that of the old aristocratic connections. When Portland decided to join Pitt in 1794, the Foxites continued in that direction and retained the services of the remarkable William Adams, earlier their Whip, still their controller of funds for political expenses and organizer of clubs and associations. They were in the wilderness a long while, but eventually theirs was to become the dominant political creed both in the extension of the rights of man doctrine and removal of discriminatory laws, and also in the development of the modern party system. To those interested in this aspect of democratic government, O'Gorman's book, though it makes few concessions to the nonspecialist, must be regarded as required reading.

Bryn Mawr College

CAROLINE ROBBINS

SCIENTIFIC SOLDIER: A LIFE OF GENERAL LE MARCHANT, 1766-1812. By R. H. Thoumine. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1968. Pp. viii, 212. \$6.10.)

THE French Revolution reshaped warfare almost as much as it altered government and society. Outside France, thoughtful soldiers tried to find effective responses to revolutionary military change. John Gaspard Le Marchant was one of those soldiers, and his career as a military reformer was played out in the relatively unyielding environment of British society and military life. Richard Glover's *Peninsular Preparation* directed attention to Le Marchant's importance, and now R. H. Thoumine has written a complete, though brief, biography based on Le Marchant's papers.

Born in France, but connected to Britain through Guernsey and his father's service in the British Army during the Seven Years' War, Le Marchant was moderately wealthy and had a few influential friends. His reformism was in part an aspect of the driving ambition of a man from the periphery determined to get to the top. After service with the Duke of York in the notorious campaign of 1793-1794, he found the support needed first to reform cavalry training and then to organize a school for cadets and staff officers. For a decade he was the acting director of what would become Sandhurst and the Staff College. Called to command a cavalry brigade under Wellington, he was killed at Salamanca in 1812 while leading a brilliant and decisive charge.

Unlike Peter Paret's study of Yorck von Wartenberg, a Prussian military reformer comparable in certain respects to Le Marchant in Britain, Thoumine's work keeps the man himself steadily in focus, sketching rather than exploring his milieu. Tidiness and brevity are thus achieved, but at a price that many historians, interested in more than one man and the origins of Sandhurst, will find too high. Opportunities are missed: Le Marchant climbed within the social system but it obstructed his plan to professionalize the officer corps; he sought to meet the challenge of a "new type of warfare," but David Dundas, who epitomized the old type, was an apparently sympathetic colleague. We would like to have these and similar problems recognized and analyzed in what would be a longer, more discursive book.

Yet it must be said that Thoumine has written his own kind of book very well. He deals with people and places deftly and economically; the personality of Le Marchant, a truly impressive man, comes through clearly; the brief accounts of the two campaigns, in Flanders and Spain, are especially good. In contrast to many military biographies, the book understands the technical minutiae of its subject's day-to-day life. Within its scope, *Scientific Soldier* is a sensitive, intelligent book that will inform and guide further study of the French Revolution in warfare.

University of Michigan

JOHN SHY

BRITISH LAND POLICY AT THE CAPE, 1795-1844: A STUDY OF ADMINISTRATIVE PROCEDURES IN THE EMPIRE. By Leslie Clement Duly. [Duke Historical Publications.] (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1968. Pp. xix, 226. \$8.00.)

BRITISH land policy has received some admiring attention from historians of southern Africa, particularly land reservation as a device for protecting indigenous peoples from the expropriating expansion of white settlers. It has not been clear before how late in the nineteenth century it became possible for a southern African government to enforce a policy of reservation. Mr. Duly shows how slowly British policy makers developed the means to define the internal frontiers on which individual title and protected communal ownership depended, how the inability to define and enforce a land policy was an index of a fundamental weakness of government, and how the nature of Cape society before the mineral discoveries and the final partition of southern Africa made effective government almost impossible. As a despairing Lord Glenelg wrote of the Trekkers in 1837, "Richer pastures, more numerous herds and a wider range of territory, opportunities of uncontrolled self-indulgence and freedom from the restraints of law and settled society, are it would appear in all countries irresistible temptations to the inhabitants of the Borderlands of civilisation." While there was land they could move into, Boers on the frontier were virtually ungovernable, and colonial administration was denied a major source of revenue. Duly suggests, however, that an effective land policy, particularly in the prompt issue of title, might have encouraged the Trekboer to settle down and identify himself with his government.

British governors inherited a complex mass of tenures from the Dutch, adding new tenures, quitrent and then freehold, without establishing agreed units of measurement and a qualified, properly controlled corps of surveyors. From 1806 to 1814, uncertainty about the future delayed the enunciation of new policy; later, persistent administrative weakness prevented the implementation of such policy as there was. No geodetic survey of the colony was undertaken before 1876, titles applied for were not issued, beacons were moved by land-owners, surveys had frequently to be done again at government expense, and arrears in rents accumulated, never to be collected.

Duly has handled a difficult subject with skill. He shows clearly the strength of anti-Boer feeling in London and the inability of government to deal with land alienation even within the settled area, let alone on the frontier, to implement an imperial Wakefieldian policy that would stimulate British settlement, or to protect indigenous peoples. Two criticisms can, however, be made: first, there should have been a discussion of the general problem of raising revenue. Much of the material suggests that officials in Cape Town, no doubt under nagging from London, were searching for a way to meet the demands of budgetary autonomy. It is not clear from this work how land revenue fluctuated both in amount and in proportion of total revenue, or how demands for reform were related to the size of the deficit. Secondly, Duly shows that policies, apparently successful in Australasia and America, were not tried in Cape Colony. This happened, he argues, because British statesmen underestimated the economic potential of the colony. Might it not also have been due to the poverty of the country when compared with the other settlement areas? The obstacles to successful farming were more serious than poor surveying and uncertain title. A more extended discussion of the factors affecting immigration would have been valuable.

Wesleyan University

JEFFREY BUTLER

BRITAIN AND THE PERSIAN GULF, 1795-1880. By J. B. Kelly. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1968. Pp. xiv, 911. \$33.60.)

RECENTLY there have appeared a number of books that touch on the Persian Gulf area in modern times, among them Bayly Winder on Saudi Arabia, Robert Landen on Oman, Firuz Kazemzadeh on Russia and Britain in Iran, Briton Busch on Britain in the Persian Gulf, 1894-1914, and G. S. Graham on Britain in the Indian Ocean, 1810-1850. Now comes Kelly's nearly a half-million words on British policy and actions in the Gulf region from the Napoleonic period, when both Muscat and Iran felt the Anglo-French competition, down to the "exclusive agreements" concluded by Britain with Bahrein and other states. Unlike Kelly's *Eastern Arabian Frontiers* (1964), this book has no particular ax to grind, although it ends with a tribute to "the exertions and sacrifices of the men who brought peace, justice, and the rule of law to the Gulf in the nineteenth century, and in so doing wrote one of the most honourable pages in the history of the British Empire." Kelly is critical of various aspects of British policy and of some British officials. He is probably severest with Lewis Pelly. His hero is clearly Samuel Hennell, the Resident in the Gulf whose initiation of the maritime truce among warring Gulf sheiks was a stroke of genius.

After an introduction to the geography, economy, and politics of the Gulf in the late eighteenth century, the book proceeds almost chronologically. Topics that receive extensive treatment are the fluctuating Wahhabi power as it impinged on the Gulf coast, piracy and naval warfare and the British efforts to curb them, the expansion of Mehemet Ali of Egypt to the Gulf, Chesney's explorations of the Euphrates route, the Persian attacks on Herat, the construction of the tracial system, the suppression of the slave trade, the Anglo-Persian war of 1856-1857, the separation of Masqat and Zanzibar, and Ottoman expansion in the Gulf area, starting with the conquest of El Hasa in 1871. Throughout run the themes of British policy: safeguarding India, protecting commerce, and trying to do this without too much involvement on land or interference in local affairs.

Kelly has worked extensively in the India Office and Foreign Office records and in other collections, all detailed in the careful notes and bibliography. He has not attempted to use the French or Ottoman archives where they would be appropriate; one Arab chronicle, Ibn Bishr, is mentioned in footnotes. It is a British-centered account, but generally a fair one, packed with information and destined to become a standard reference work. Unfortunately for such a massive tome, there is no detailed table of contents, the running heads do not indicate topics on the individual page, few chapters have summary introductions or conclusions, and the book itself has neither. The index, which is fairly full, will be the scholar's best guide. There are two useful maps.

George Washington University

RODERIC H. DAVISON

GREAT BRITAIN IN THE INDIAN OCEAN: A STUDY OF MARITIME ENTERPRISE, 1810-1850. By Gerald S. Graham. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. xii, 479. \$12.00.)

If this book, despite its title, seems at first glance to lack a unifying theme, the impression is illusory. Closer inspection reveals that the author's chief, though

by no means exclusive, concern is the varied measures taken by Britain during the first half of the nineteenth century to secure the seaward approaches of its expanding commercial empire in India. This is a challenging subject, and Professor Graham, an experienced hand in naval history, makes the most of it. Theoretically, with the demise of Napoleonic France and the containment of Dutch imperialism by treaty, the establishment of a *Pax Britannica* throughout the Indian Ocean was far from visionary after 1814, given England's industrial and maritime primacy. But in practice, as Graham demonstrates at length, the task of policing the eastern seas, with their islands and marginal waters, involved a magnitude of power and a wisdom in applying it that Britain attained only by degrees, after decades of painful effort.

In the author's view, much frustration and downright failure in the record are attributable to the home government's penny-pinching mania for drastic cut-backs in the armed forces. One might object that no ministry in those times could possibly withstand the demand for maximum economy made by a nation hungering for peace and prosperity and bored with imperialistic rhetoric. Be that as it may, the Royal Navy constantly functioned in the Indian Ocean under conditions that impaired its capacity to promote the national interest. Suppression of the slave trade, a subject thoroughly covered in these pages, posed delicate problems for the Foreign Office since the traffic still bore an international stamp. But inevitably major responsibility was allocated to the Admiralty which, with its minuscule squadron on the "Eastern Station," conducted a ceaseless struggle against Arab slavers that swarmed off the African coast from Portuguese Mozambique to Zanzibar and Cape Guardafui.

Graham likewise devotes appropriate attention to piracy in the Persian Gulf, laying bare its astounding ramifications, on the one hand, and the devious course of British antipiratical operations, on the other, until Mehemet Ali's Arabian venture provoked decisive action by Palmerston. Interservice rivalries that handicapped British policy in Burma do not escape the author's critical pen, notably Lord Amherst's river war of 1824: an ill-planned, mismanaged amphibious campaign that cost over fifteen thousand lives. Ceylon's role is assessed in connection with the Admiralty's search for a base better situated for India's defense than either Bombay or Cape Town. In the final analysis Raffles' seizure of Singapore provided a capital solution, for it opened a new door to the China market and effectively secured Indian sea lanes from naval threats against the British raj.

College of William and Mary

BRUCE T. McCULLY

FINANCE, TRADE, AND POLITICS IN BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY,
1815-1914. By D. C. M. Platt. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1968.
Pp. xl, 454. \$13.45.)

D. C. M. PLATT has filled in a "curious gap" in British historiography, the lack of any concerted and continuous examination of the role of government in relation to foreign investment and overseas trade in the century of British pre-eminence in these matters. British investors built up a net balance of twenty billion dollars abroad by 1913, as much as the foreign investment of all other

nations combined; while in world trade the British share in the early years constituted a third and at the end, after the immense growth in the trade of other countries, was still fully a sixth. Yet the part that government played in relation to these matters has been given only episodic attention, perhaps because the role was rather minimal except on a few special occasions which, Platt shows, have too often been given slanted or mistaken interpretation.

For Great Britain, the nineteenth century was the century of *laissez faire* in foreign investment as in trade, in bold contrast to the older mercantilism that had generally prevailed. The government exercised virtually no direct influence on the investment propensities of its nationals. London was a relatively free money market, as Jenks and Feis have pointed out for the earlier and later periods respectively, and government was no more disposed to intervene to protect individual interests than it was to promote them. If private investors chose the risk of foreign lending at higher interest than domestic finance would yield, successive Foreign Secretaries saw no reason why government should rescue them. Even before the heyday of *laissez faire* this was the prudent rule, and it survived with little modification when other governments felt less restricted in such matters. Exceptions were made at times in special strategic areas, such as in a government guarantee for a loan to Turkey during the Crimean War, and in such cases, or in intergovernmental contract debts, government did exert pressure on defaulting governments.

In matters of trade, the British official view always recognized that commerce was the lifeblood of the nation and that government should promote its extension wherever treaties were needed to that end. But in this postmercantilist era the terms should be equally available to other nations, and without special favor. The fact that British goods and British traders were without near rivals through most of this period certainly made it much easier to pursue this line which *laissez faire* doctrines confirmed and hallowed and which survived substantially well into the era of intense competition and increasing intervention by the other governments, or, as Platt suggests, until the 1930's. Officials should collect and disseminate trade information as quickly and efficiently as possible, and this work was markedly improved, but little more. Exceptions were in special areas such as China where departures were reluctantly and sparingly made after 1880 in the face of rival practice.

Platt has done a first-rate job toward closing the "curious gap." His research has been thorough in British official records, in memoirs, and in secondary works. His judgments are balanced, thoroughly documented, and written with the clarity, precision, and distinctions that the subject requires. The organization leads to some repetition in the close analysis of policy in the special areas—Egypt, Turkey, Persia, Africa, China and the Far East, and Latin America, together about 60 per cent of the text—which follows historical reviews of policy concerning foreign investment and trade. But these areas need special examination, and the repetition is not excessive. There are six line maps and useful appendixes, one of which reviews the developing governmental machinery for overseas trade. A particular word of commendation is due also for the excellent select bibliography and the index.

Tufts University

ALBERT H. IMLAH

'PROSPERITY' ROBINSON: THE LIFE OF VISCOUNT GODERICH, 1782-1859. By *Wilbur Devereux Jones*. (New York: St. Martin's Press. 1967. Pp. x, 324. \$10.00.)

THE author has set himself the task of rehabilitating the reputation of the man who for a few brief, disastrous months after Canning's death was Prime Minister of Great Britain. Many forgotten figures in history are not worth rehabilitating. Lord Goderich is, and W. D. Jones has succeeded admirably. He shows that, far from being the weak, ineffectual personality usually portrayed, Goderich was a sensitive, intelligent, and constructive statesman. He would probably never have been a successful Prime Minister, but no one could have succeeded in the circumstances in which he actually failed. Goderich's great error was not made in office; it was in ever accepting office at all. He lacked the egotism and the highly developed sense of self-preservation necessary in a great political leader. He was much too loyal, much too patriotic, and had much too great a sense of duty for the position at the top of the greasy pole in the last months of 1827. Had he been a clever politician, he would have done as others did and left King and country to suffer the fruits of personal strife and party chaos, thus saving his own reputation. Instead, he loyally assumed an impossible task, received loyalty from no one in return, and inevitably brought all the consequences of bitter political division on his own head. This is the story Jones tells. He tells it well and with careful scholarship, and it carries conviction.

Because Goderich failed as Prime Minister, his importance elsewhere has never been fully appreciated. His greatest contributions were made at the Board of Trade and the Exchequer. Jones contends that Goderich ranks second to none in launching and carrying on the innovations that freed British trade of outdated restrictions and reformed the country's financial structure. Once again, the author's contentions carry conviction.

Biography as history is always a difficult task. It is particularly difficult in the case of Goderich whose career spanned so many years, so many offices, and so many titles. Jones warns at the beginning that he attempted to strike only the high points. Doubtless this was necessary, but one wishes that a little more care had been taken with the transitions. There are also places, particularly in the earlier part of the book, where Goderich could have been set more firmly in his historical background.

University of California, Riverside

R. W. DAVIS

MICHAEL FARADAY, A BIOGRAPHY. By *L. Pearce Williams*. (New York: Basic Books. [1965.] Pp. xvi, 531. \$12.50.)

MICHAEL Faraday was more, Professor Williams tells us, than an "arch-empiricist" and "kindly experimentalist" who laid the foundations on which others built classical and modern field theory. There are other biographies of Faraday, but with a promise of a new and up-to-date interpretation we can expect a book that will place Faraday, as Williams says, "more accurately in the mainstream of the history of science." The book does not wholly succeed in its mission.

When in 1825, at the age of thirty-four, Faraday became director of the

Laboratory of the Royal Institution, he had achieved a reputation as a result of his discoveries in chemistry and physics. The author's account of the source and formulation of Faraday's early ideas is satisfactory. The speculations as to the indirect effect of Kantian philosophy, although difficult to believe, are interesting in suggesting one possibility of nonscientific influence on theory.

The discovery of electromagnetic induction was Faraday's most important contribution. We are told that Faraday had in the process of his discovery invented the dynamo (incorrect unless one takes the formulation of the scientific theory as tantamount to making a successful invention), and after Maxwell had put Faraday's theory into mathematical form, it served as a basis for the study of electrical power generation. Williams neglects to say how important Faraday's theories were to the nineteenth century, preferring to impress the reader with Faraday's importance to twentieth-century physics. The author's approach is unhistorical, that is, he skips the effect on Faraday's immediate successors in favor of much later and therefore less direct influence.

Too much space is spent, quote after quote, trying to show that Faraday really did have a theory about the nature of electricity. In this exercise Williams hopes to redeem Faraday from the stigma of being merely an experimentalist. Faraday's idea, however vague, about lines of force did influence many of his contemporaries, and the most important effect, as the author mentions, was on William Thomson and James Clerk Maxwell.

In a biography of a scientist some technical discussion is unavoidable. But the author's very complex discussion of the origins of field theory is an unnecessary burden for the reader. Here again, Williams is too anxious to show how Faraday set the stage for Einstein rather than telling the story of Faraday's revolutionary effect on nineteenth-century physics. Williams' attempt to "redeem" Faraday's reputation by trying to place him in the twentieth century leaves the reader with a confused and inadequate picture of Faraday.

Iowa State University

HAROLD I. SHARLIN

THE NEWMAN BROTHERS: AN ESSAY IN COMPARATIVE INTELLECTUAL BIOGRAPHY. By *William Robbins*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1966. Pp. xii, 202. \$6.00.)

WILLIAM Robbins' *The Newman Brothers* is a successful venture in comparative intellectual biography, which promises to be of interest to scholars of philosophy, literature, religion, and intellectual history. The lives of the brothers, John and Francis, spanned the nineteenth century, and their careers were inextricably caught up with the complex intellectual currents of those years. Both were respected intellectuals and activists. Both were men of high moral and spiritual purpose. And yet, reacting to the tensions engendered by nineteenth-century liberalism, rationalism, secularism, skepticism, reform, and science, the intellectual development of the brothers followed divergent paths that led them into opposing camps.

The early part of the book deals with the religious development of the Newman brothers and their reaction to Whig liberalism culminating in the reform measures of Catholic emancipation, parliamentary reform, and the aboli-

tion of the Irish bishoprics. The point of departure for Robbins' analysis is the evangelicalism of the brothers. Their rejection of evangelicalism is told with discernment and insight. It takes John Henry along the road to the *via media* and the Oxford movement, and finally to the authority of Rome. It takes Frank along the path to rationalism and skepticism, and finally along the byways of relativism.

After his conversion in 1845, John Henry Newman sought to liberalize the Roman Catholic Church in England and to bring it into the mainstream of nineteenth-century intellectual developments. In attempting this, John got caught in the center between the "hydra-headed prejudice" of Protestants and the equally animated prejudices of authoritarian Catholics. His efforts, his victories and setbacks, are traced in his dealings and sometimes clashes with such personalities as Dr. Achilli, Cardinal Wiseman, Archbishop Cullen, W. G. Ward, Bishop Ullathorne, Cardinal Manning, the Reverend E. B. Pusey, Charles Kingsley, and William Gladstone and around such issues as the founding of the Catholic University in Ireland and the *Rambler*, the attempt to establish the Oxford Oratory and the controversy attending the proclamation of papal infallibility.

Returning from Turkey in 1833 with little faith in political reform, Frank encountered a society "cut to ribbons" by religious controversy. As doubts and questions crowded in on him, Frank became increasingly tolerant. Thereafter his logical mind drove him in the direction of rationalism, the rejection of the infallible Book, the dogma of the Trinity, and the grim doctrine of predestination. From this experience, Francis emerged as a social and political reformer, and thereafter his rationalism led him to attack evangelical anti-intellectualism as vigorously as Catholic sacerdotalism.

Robbins' book greatly illuminates the life and thinking processes of Francis Newman. His psychological probing of the minds of the Newman brothers is fair to John Henry and sympathetic and understanding in the case of Frank.

State University College, Cortland

GILBERT A. CAHILL

THE SENIOR: JOHN SAMUEL SWIRE, 1825-98. MANAGEMENT IN FAR EASTERN SHIPPING TRADES. By *Sheila Marriner* and *Francis E. Hyde*. ([Liverpool:] Liverpool University Press. 1967. Pp. xiv, 224. 42s.)

THE firm of Butterfield and Swire has been prominent in shipping, trade, and related circles in East Asia for a century. While this volume concerns the doughty Victorian behind the firm, it is neither a biography nor a history of a firm. It attempts to be more of the former, but seems to me more of the latter, and the firm most concerned is John Swire and Sons, London.

John Samuel Swire, the Senior, led his family business for over forty years before his death in 1898. Founded as a Liverpool import-export house by his father about 1816, the business at first dealt mainly with Europe and America. But after John Samuel Swire's visit to Australia for several years in the middle 1850's, things began to change under his leadership. Teas and silks came to replace American cotton among imports, in return for British cotton, woolen, and worsted goods shipped to China and Japan.

The partnership of Butterfield and Swire began in 1866 and lasted only two

years. But the name of the new firm survived, and control rested with John Swire and Sons. Other firms in which Swires dominated as sole or major owners were the China Navigation Company, founded in 1872; the quaintly named Coast Boats Ownery, which was merged with the former line as of 1883; and the Taikoo Sugar Refinery, founded in 1881. Swires were among the initial subscribers of Holt brothers' Ocean Steam Ship Company, whose Blue Funnel Line plied between Britain and East Asia.

The business of John Swire and Sons in Britain, and Butterfield and Swire in Asia, centered about the agencies for these firms, especially the shipping lines. The many related activities included trading on their own account and handling agencies for insurance companies and additional steamship lines. But these many activities were closely interconnected, although diverse and spread geographically over a tremendous area.

John Samuel Swire's letters and other company records are the major sources for this study. The many references to this correspondence document well the events chronicled, but Swire himself comes to life more clearly from a rereading of the first chapter, on him and his family, than from the narrative of later chapters.

Shipping conferences provide an important exception, for there John Samuel Swire emerges as a credible and impressive human figure. Perhaps the reason is that conferences pose issues, which this study covers both in the narratives of particular companies and again in two separate chapters on conferences. We see the problems and events and the commanding role of the Senior in shaping policy and events, finding solutions, some of which hold today for shipping in most parts of the world. Another subject that could have been treated in such a way, probably bringing out more of the man Swire himself, is the intense rivalry with that other famous house, Jardine, Matheson.

The problem that underlies shipping conferences is the familiar one of heavy fixed costs and low variable costs for ships that can easily shift from routes with little business to those with more. When there is a surplus of tonnage and shipowners are losing money, they lose less by operating at any income above variable costs than by laying up their ships. In such surplus periods, there is a strong tendency for ships to move around to new areas where somewhat higher income may be earned, even though no one is covering the capital cost of his fleet and shore installations, or perhaps even his overhead costs of offices and management.

John Samuel Swire found himself in this kind of situation repeatedly, and he took the lead for several Asian routes in forming, maintaining, and re-forming arrangements by which ship operators divided up the available business, income, or profits, while discouraging outsiders from taking available business. Such arrangements now bear the label shipping conferences, and in its obituary of Swire on December 6, 1898, the *Liverpool Journal of Commerce* called him "the Father of Shipping Conferences," even though the first China conference was formalized four years after the pioneering 1875 Calcutta conference, in which Swire was not involved. The restrictive practices that prevailed in nineteenth-century private enterprise have survived in shipping far beyond what national governments have been willing to tolerate in domestic businesses.

This study, based on an important company's original records, is a contribution to the understanding of an era, an aspect of European imperialism in Asia, and a still-troublesome shipping problem.

American University

WARREN S. HUNSBERGER

THE ABERDEEN COALITION, 1852-1855: A STUDY IN MID-NINETEENTH-CENTURY PARTY POLITICS. By J. B. Conacher. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1968. Pp. xiv, 606. \$19.50.)

HISTORIANS are often classified as either narrative or analytical historians. Those who think themselves the latter sort are most likely to make this classification, and I am afraid not without a touch of censoriousness. They are apt to regard the narrative historian as a member of a different, perhaps even a lesser, breed who, as they might say, merely tells a story. In fact, however, it is not telling a story that makes the difference—philosophers now assure us that all historians tell stories—so much as the sort of question that is asked. Analytical historians are likely to ask questions that concern social structure and connections between society and politics. And while narrative historians are likely not to have read Weber or Dahrendorf, they are likely to ask questions that deal with purely political connections: the give and take of parliamentary debate and cabinet discussion, the personal motives and justifications at work in the pursuit of power, the details of legislation, and so on. Although the questions are different, neither sort of historian can answer them adequately without learning, literary skill, intelligence, and judgment.

Professor Conacher is a narrative historian. His story of the Aberdeen coalition of 1852-1855 falls into two main parts. The first, despite Disraeli's croaking that "England does not love coalitions," has to do with the triumph of the coalition's opening year, 1853. By and large, Aberdeen's gifted lieutenants pulled together. Although there were some disagreements, they were not party disagreements, and the ever-tactful Aberdeen kept them well in hand. The record of legislation was impressive, crowned by what Conacher describes as "one of the great budgets of the century," in which the Peelite Gladstone taught his Whig colleagues those sound principles of public finance that had always eluded them. The second part of Conacher's story, beginning in the autumn of 1853, was the antithesis of the first—an abject failure. The outbreak of war between Russia and Turkey in the latter months of 1853 started the tragic decline of the Aberdeen coalition. By March 1854 England had been drawn into the conflict. Then there was a lull, a kind of "phony war" (to use Conacher's phrase), followed by the reassurance of successful landings in the Crimea and some victorious battles—all of which was blotted out by the disastrous siege of Sebastopol and the final humiliation of Roebuck's motion in the House of Commons, which reduced the Aberdeen coalition to ruins.

In his brief conclusion Conacher touches on an "analytical" question: the connection between English society and the crop of military fiascos in the Crimea. He sees the root of the trouble in the aristocratic governing class, thus echoing contemporary middle-class opinion that preferred the conduct of the war entrusted to earnest businessmen rather than to dilettante aristocrats. One might

argue with this. As Conacher himself tells us, even the aristocracy was not short of critics of British military administration, among them Whigs like Russell and Grey, the latter having made his reputation as a military reformer as early as the 1830's. Perhaps one should conclude that military mismanagement was less the work of aristocracy than the consequence of a failure of leadership. What was needed was a strong driving personality to overcome the compromises and equivocations of coalition government. To no social class is it guaranteed that such a leader will appear at the right moment.

On the whole, however, one finds little to grumble about in this large book. Conacher has told his story with remarkable accuracy, clarity, and detail. He has ransacked the major manuscript collections, skillfully piecing together the mosaic of his narrative, and firmly guiding the reader through the maze of cabinet discussion, parliamentary debate, and diplomatic negotiation. His tone is invariably judicious: apart from a footnote on page 286, even the mediocrity of British generals fails to disturb his impartiality. It will be a long time before the student of British history will again be offered such a mine of information about the workings of government and the making of political decisions at a critical point in mid-Victorian history.

Johns Hopkins University

DAVID SPRING

THE EDWARDIAN TURN OF MIND. By *Samuel Hynes*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1968. Pp. xiv, 427. \$9.75.)

THERE has been no lack of studies of Edwardian England since Sir Robert Ensor's *England 1870-1914* and George Dangerfield's *Strange Death of Liberal England* appeared over thirty years ago. Yet Professor Hynes has found new things to say in his interesting book. His thesis is that the period was both old and new, Victorian and twentieth century, "like the English Channel, a narrow place made turbulent by the thrust and tumble of two powerful opposing tides." The old order, the established classes, what he perhaps unfairly calls "Tory England," was under challenge, and fought back in predictable fashion. There was a tightening of the lines, at least as far as public morals went (the political opposition falls outside the book's scope). The prosecution of dangerous books as obscene libels, the unofficial censorship used by printers, publishers, and circulating libraries (Joyce's *Dubliners* was held up for eight years), the continuing and fatuous censorship of plays are excellently described. "The Trouble with Women" really spills over from its own chapter to several others; unsuccessful attempts to reform marriage and divorce laws, the campaigns against "impurity" and birth control, the elements of antisex and antimale in the suffragette movement, which help to explain the fury of the men's opposition, are recounted in turn. Hynes frequently brings out the class bias of the reactionaries: dangerous books are more so if cheap; birth control will produce a degenerate population "of a dissolute and dangerous poor," jeopardizing national defense and "undermining that sense of continence and self-control that is essential to a sound and healthy state." The last words are St. Loe Strachey's, in a furious review of *Ann Veronica*. Hynes admires Wells, but the book's real hero is Arnold Bennett, whose good sense shines through again and again.

Of course there is much about Edwardian England that Hynes has omitted. He is unfair to the Liberals and to C. F. G. Masterman, whose pessimistic *Condition of England* he uses to typify the party. Missing is any notice of the pioneering welfare legislation, of the growth of public education, of achievements in architecture and town planning. *Howard's End*, not mentioned, is as significant as *Ann Veronica*. Socialism is discussed solely in terms of the Webb-Wells controversy among the Fabians; the Labour party is barely noticed.

Eventually England rejoined Europe; Hynes dates the change of mind, with Virginia Woolf, from the first post-Impressionist exhibition in London in November 1910, followed by the conquests of Russian ballet, plays, and novels. The closing years of lunacy in politics and deadlock in labor relations and the suffragette movement were thus also years of promise and liberation; perhaps a new balance might have been found without the war (whose social effects Hynes seems to exaggerate). The parallels and contrasts between these years and today, between Edwardian London and swinging London, though not pressed by Hynes, are suggestive and none too comfortable.

University College of North Wales, Bangor

C. L. MOWAT

THE CHAMBERLAINS. By D. H. Elletson. (New York: Hillary House. 1966. Pp. xvi, 318. \$5.50.)

THE political careers of the three Chamberlains, Joseph and his sons Austen and Neville, provide most of the subject matter for this work of homage. Each career is handled in a thoroughly conventional way—largely a shorter version of the standard sources—and little cognizance is taken of recent work in the field, so that we are presented with familiar and somewhat outdated views of, for instance, the role of the Maurice debate in the Coupon Election, of Ramsay MacDonald, and of the East Fulham by-election. Joseph Chamberlain is given the greatest share of attention, and Neville the least, which is probably appropriate even though Neville was the only Prime Minister of the lot. The tone is distinctly respectful, indeed at times sycophantic, and whatever few criticisms of the Chamberlains are raised seem to have been done so, generally, in order to be refuted. The book pulsates with unquestioning pride: a leitmotiv appears in the full accounts of the Birmingham civic occasions when members of the Chamberlain family were feted. The worn words of praise are trotted out, with responding cheers for “our Joey.”

Despite the sentimentality and superficiality of Elletson's approach, however, an uninformed reader could find here a just adequate introduction to the story of the three Chamberlains. And his book does have an additional value, for it does not limit itself to the famous three; in addition, it gains in interest as it deals with the other members of the family, the “Cliques” as they unabashedly called themselves, and their relations with the outside world and with one another. There was a complex cousinhood of Chamberlains, Kenricks, and Martineaus. Their agreements and disagreements, as revealed in the great Chamberlain archive at the University of Birmingham and other family papers, which Elletson has used, might have been much more extensively explored. Agreed, it is not fair to ask an author to write a different book, but Elletson himself

at times has moved in the direction of a fascinating family history, which would have been a far more important historical contribution than the present work, with its conventional political anecdote. There are a number of fine family photographs, often more tantalizing and interesting than the text, focused, as it were, in a different direction. Taken before the days when prominent men smiled for the photographer, the photographs of Joseph and Arthur Chamberlain give off an air of power and enigma. One would like to know much more about their relations, and particularly more about their disagreements—Arthur's passionate loyalty to free trade, for example, at the moment when his brother begins to favor tariffs. But within the family circle Elletson must present happy faces to the public, and every document is read with a simple determination to reflect credit even when its contents might lead more plausibly to a more ambiguous conclusion. And so he ends his account with Churchill's noticeably muted eulogy of Neville in the House of Commons, as though it were precisely on a level with the tributes lavished upon the family over the years in their city of Birmingham. Elletson's book is one further generous tribute. But though there are interesting tidbits of information here, it is too superficial and defensive about any slights against the Chamberlains to be a significant contribution to the material on three of the most important politicians of the late nineteenth and the twentieth century.

Stanford University

PETER STANSKY

THE COLONIAL AND IMPERIAL CONFERENCES, 1887-1911: A STUDY IN IMPERIAL ORGANIZATION. By *John Edward Kendle*. [Imperial Studies Series, Number 28.] (London: Longmans for the Royal Commonwealth Society. 1967. Pp. x, 264. 36s.)

THIS book by a young Canadian historian is an important addition to the very limited number of basic studies of the early history of what the publisher refers to, not very aptly, as "the problems of Anglo-Dominion relationship and the evolution of the present Commonwealth Conference." It carries the history of the evolution and organization of the Colonial and Imperial Conferences from the first Colonial Conference in 1887 to the first Imperial Conference, officially so designated, in 1911. This marked the end of the period of beginnings. From 1921 when the peacetime meetings were resumed they were of a different character. The history is told in ten short chapters centered on the Colonial Conferences of 1887, 1897, 1902, and 1907 and the Imperial Conference of 1911. The most valuable part of the study is the illumination, much of it new, on the background of each conference, the preparation for it within the Colonial Office, and the links between official thinking and the ideas and proposals made by unofficial but active and influential pressure groups, such as the Pollock Committee and the Round Table movement, to which the Colonial Office listened gravely but without conviction.

The study is entirely London-based, so far as the use of official archive material is concerned. It is based on Colonial Office records, the Committee of Imperial Defence papers, and cabinet records. These have been more thoroughly explored than by any previous writer on the subject, and effective use is made

of them. No use appears to have been made of Dominion archive material. This limits somewhat the value of the book, but it would be too much to expect the author to cover so vast a field, when there was so much fresh ground to be covered in the wealth of material available in the United Kingdom. Extensive use has been made of private papers, thirty-three collections of which are included in the bibliography. All except two—the Canadian papers of Sir Robert Borden and Sir Wilfred Laurier—are located in the United Kingdom. The bibliography is one of the most valuable features of the book, especially its assessments of private papers.

Within the limits he has chosen, the author has written a sound, scholarly, thoughtful, and definitive study. Not the least of its merits is the complete absence of loaded words and ideological distortion. No doubt because of the author's deliberate concentration on "Imperial organization," the book usually avoids much by way of comment on the wider significance of what was happening. An assessment of the Imperial Conference of 1911, made without a full consideration of its political and military significance, is wide of the mark. This was the decade in which the British Commonwealth of Nations took shape. It emerged from this conference complete in its essential attributes. The critical importance of the discussions on defense and foreign policy from 1909 to 1912 slips through the mesh of this study of organization. But, if the wider background is remembered—the transition from colonies to Commonwealth, colonies that were now nations, becoming fully conscious of their association in a unique "family of nations"—workers in the field of Commonwealth history will profit much from this excellent study of the organization of the Imperial Conference system.

Bethesda, Maryland

H. DUNCAN HALL

WINSTON S. CHURCHILL. *Companion Volume I. Part 1, 1874-1896; Part 2, 1896-1900.* By *Randolph S. Churchill*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1967. Pp. xxi, 678; 680-1290. \$12.50 each.)

THE late Randolph Churchill learned many things from his father, even if he was not always quite as ready to trudge the hard road. In writing the biography of Sir Winston, Randolph not only followed in his father's footsteps with respect to style and method; he has also given every evidence that the labor of love involved indeed much hard labor. (If he was aided in his task by a corps of assistants, the same can be said of Sir Winston.) The elder Churchill did not always look with favor upon his male heir, but there is little doubt that he would have approved of this multivolume biography of himself, which must now be completed by other hands.

These two thick volumes contain much of the raw material that Randolph Churchill used in writing the first volume of the biography of his father. Although the "biographical" or "life" volumes (two of which have already been published) contain much in the way of "primary" material, Randolph Churchill offers these first two volumes of "documentation" in the nature of an "appendix" to Volume I of the "biography," with others to follow for the subsequent "biography." These "documentation" volumes will contain the "raw material,"

the letters, bills, extracts of speeches, articles, and newspaper and other material by, to, or about Winston Churchill.

Judging by these two volumes, the storehouse is bulging. Although the editing is skillful, the index very full, and much of the material absorbing and serving to enhance the "flavor" of the subject, the presentation often tends to fall between two stools. Future biographers will not be content to rely on Randolph Churchill's selections, but will turn to the archives which, we are promised, will be opened for scholars in due course. For others, the sheer bulk of these appendixes (added to the considerable amount of "primary" material quoted in the biographical volumes) tends to obscure rather than to delineate the subject. The author-editor has not made clear and a careful comparison of the "life" volume with the two "companion" volumes fails to reveal, any principle of selection used in deciding when a document should be quoted in one set of volumes as against another. Until the archives are opened, nevertheless, we must depend upon these and subsequent volumes. It is to be hoped that the work will be carried forward with dispatch and that students of the period will be able to answer some of the questions that were not answered by Winston Churchill in his own autobiographical works. Best of all, it is to be hoped that the archives will be opened to scholars.

University of Hawaii

SAMUEL J. HURWITZ

WINSTON S. CHURCHILL. Volume II, *YOUNG STATESMAN*, 1901-1914.

By *Randolph S. Churchill*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1967. Pp. xxxii, 763. \$10.00.)

THIS volume of Churchill's biography is a study of political genius in its most brilliant and flexible phase. Like the first volume, it is especially notable for the thoroughness of its documentation. Churchill's papers must be the most complete of any British statesman's of this century. In addition, his son Randolph, before his death in June 1968, had a team of expert researchers combing numerous related archives, some of them closed to the ordinary historian. Since Sir Winston wrote and spoke so often, so self-assertively, and so well, he is never obscured by any documents and remains largely his own biographer. His presumption of superiority, of being destined for greatness, of prescience, is strongly reflected in this account of his entry into Parliament as an independent-minded Tory, aged twenty-six, in 1901; his crossing over to the Liberals in 1904; and his prominent role in the Liberal ministry of 1906 to 1914.

It is a story of unmitigated and eminently resourceful push to be at the center of events and decision making, even when the decision lay outside the province of his own department. Though only an Undersecretary, he virtually took over the Colonial Office in 1906, his chief Lord Elgin being easygoing and often absent, and Churchill is here credited with being the prime mover on the British side in the granting of responsible self-government to the Transvaal. His accomplishments as president of the Board of Trade from April 1908, in setting up labour exchanges and in protecting sweated labor, are well known. Often overlooked, but here stressed, are his larger, if not very durable, concern and commitment in the whole field of social reform, and his doing most of the spadework

for the scheme of unemployment insurance introduced by Lloyd George. At the Home Office in 1910, where his most important duties are reviewed with exemplary clarity, he faced the most serious industrial strikes to that date, displayed skill and forbearance as an arbitrator, and is once again shown to have been completely blameless of sending troops to fire on the South Wales miners at Tonypandy. Finally, as First Lord of the Admiralty from September 1911, he improved the pay and conditions of naval personnel; initiated improvements in the design, speed, and firepower of ships; fought successfully for an air department; and, at grave risk of splitting the cabinet irreparably, refused to budge in 1914 on the naval estimates. It was largely due to his efforts, this volume concludes, that, when war came, the fleet was ready.

The author is more generous with his own opinions than in the preceding volume, and some of his asides are intrusive and irrelevant. As for personalities, it is jarring to have Bonar Law dismissed as "a man of markedly inferior parts, and in large measure a pliant tool of Sir Max Aitken." Asquith's loyalty to colleagues and unquestioned ability as Prime Minister is recognized, but he is seen on occasion as embarrassing his friends in the Commons by having drunk too much; is denied the usual plaudit of being the most effective champion of free trade before the 1906 election—the laurel goes to Churchill; and is criticized for lacking Churchill's courage and openness under fire, an example being his feigning ignorance of the latter's orders to the Third Fleet to steam to Lamlash during the 1914 Ulster crisis.

A more impartial observer could suggest that, given the explosive antiparliamentary tendencies of the prewar years, Churchill might have exercised some of Asquith's restraint and reserve to his own and the country's advantage and that his proneness to choice invective and to gestures of public bravado, especially over the Lords' Veto and Ireland, effectively disguised from opponents his undoubted and frequent readiness to be conciliatory and magnanimous. Many Tories regarded him throughout this period as an unprincipled renegade. The remark that "no documentary evidence can be found to justify the extraordinary personal malevolence of which he was made the victim" appears therefore somewhat disingenuous. It is the kind of bias that is easy to understand, however, and it detracts very little from Randolph Churchill's outstanding achievement as biographer and historian.

Ohio State University

PHILIP P. POIRIER

DEATH OF AN ARMY. By *Anthony Farrar-Hockley*. (New York: William Morrow and Company. 1968. Pp. xi, 195. \$5.00.)

At the time this book was published Brigadier Farrar-Hockley was commanding the First Parachute Brigade. Thus, he writes from the viewpoint of a practitioner, and his strictures upon the conduct of battle bear the considerable weight of actual experience of infantry combat. (He was captured in Korea after fighting in World War II.) His work is a useful counter to those like Alan Clark's *The Donkeys* (1961), for while he has some harsh things to say about the commanders of the day, especially Sir John French, he also shows how unprepared in many ways they were for a war that went wrong early.

And it is this early period of October and November 1914 that is his subject. He tackles it from the infantry commander's view with the emphasis upon small-unit actions and their consequences. The story deals tellingly and usefully with the destruction of the original British Expeditionary Force and especially of the old regular British Army in the first battle of Ypres. This was still a limited war fought by companies holding hastily dug trenches, fighting mostly with rifles and often poorly supported by artillery either because it was not available, was out of touch owing to severed telephone lines and downed runners, or had exhausted its ammunition. Toward the end of the battle, British infantrymen were overwhelmed because a batch of irregular cartridges jammed their rifles and slowed their fire well below its normal remarkably effective rate. As an experienced combat infantryman he catches well the atmosphere and frustrations of the foggy, wet, and cold battlefield, an arena over which airplanes had only just occasionally begun to appear.

Farrar-Hackley has skillfully used his sources, talked to some survivors, and covered the ground, so often a prewar pilgrimage for those at the Staff College. The short bibliography, many maps, and occasional photographs round out a work that is to be recommended to students of modern British history.

Kansas State University

ROBIN HIGHAM

GEORGE BELL, BISHOP OF CHICHESTER. By *Ronald C. D. Jasper*.
(New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. xi, 401. \$11.20.)

In speaking out, almost alone in Parliament, against indiscriminate British bombing of Germany during World War II, Bishop Bell caught the moral imagination of posterity. The British, and Bell among them, believed passionately in the righteousness of their cause. His ability in these circumstances to exercise clear-eyed judgment about the means of war being employed and firmly to censure his own side seemed, when peace came, to show moral discernment and courage of a rarely high order. Jasper's official life of Bell shows that this action was only the most famous expression of Bell's attack on the sociopolitical ethics of Europe in his day.

Jasper is an experienced ecclesiastical historian and biographer; this book, well organized and informed, is Anglican hagiography at its best, a story with no miracles but lots of able achievement. Bell, however, was an Anglican miracle. Born in 1883 within sight of Chichester Cathedral, the son of a parson, Bell was brought up, educated, and promoted in conventional fashion. But he escaped complacent British insularity by his involvement in the early days of the ecumenical movement. It was through this that he enjoyed an intimate acquaintance with German affairs under Hitler, particularly the Nazi conflict with the Confessional Church. Earlier than most Englishmen, Bell recognized the sinister totalitarianism of Hitler. As a result of what Bell saw and the friendships he made, he became an apostle of opposition to many forms of totalitarianism or, in other words, the obliteration of all concerns but *raison d'état* and all feelings but the nationalistic. First he fought totalitarian subjection in Germany of church to state, than totalitarianism in Britain in the form of abandonment of civilized restraint in warfare; he also rebuked Churchill's government because of its

lack of concern for innocent Germans in British concentration camps and for the starving in continental Europe, and he bucked the strong tendency both during and shortly after the war to treat Germany as if its population were monolithically barbarian. Especially in wartime these views were unpopular, and they cost him the promotion to an archbishopric or senior bishopric that otherwise certainly would have been his.

Syracuse University

P. T. MARSH

TWO CAREERS. By *Lord Citrine*. (London: Hutchinson. 1967. Pp. 384. 50s.)

THE second volume of Walter Citrine's memoirs raises the question whether autobiography as a literary form has not been done in by biography, oral history, and even the "profile in depth" that has become a regular feature of some of the magazines and Sunday newspapers. Surely a personal history should be more than a chronicle of events in which one was a participant, even if these events are as important as World War II and the years that followed. Unfortunately, either because Citrine is not given to reflection and introspection, or because he is in the best tradition of British reticence, he is distinctly a minor character in his own autobiography. One can only wonder what such biographers as George Painter or Henri Troyat, or even Rex Reed of the New York *Times* celebrity bureau, would have done with the material. Instead, one turns with anticipation to a chapter headed "Money and Other Troubles" only to discover that the title directs us to controversies between the Treasury and the Ministry of Fuel and Power over rural electrification, and "My Lust for Power" turns out to be—you guessed it—another reference to electricity rather than an obeisance to Lord Acton.

Still, there is an engaging quality about this book, as there is about the first volume of Lord Citrine's autobiography, which dealt largely with his career as General Secretary of the Trades Union Congress. While one could wish that his style was less homely, less dependent upon everyday expressions, and, casting a tributary wreath on Orwell's grave, less given to "tradeunionspeak," there are a simplicity and modesty in Citrine that are appealing. In his accounts of Bevin, Beaverbrook, Roosevelt, Churchill, various Russians, and many others, one cannot doubt that he is telling it as honestly as he can, which, of course, is not necessarily the same thing as telling what actually happened. But it is likely that historians of World War II will have little to correct or change, although they may regret that they do not have more to learn.

They may also regret, as I do, that Citrine has not chosen to write more about himself. The final chapter, "Purely Personal," was written, he tells us, because some reviewers of the first volume, *Men and Work*, "thought that I had not disclosed enough about myself and my private life." In response to these criticisms the author makes a manful effort: he deals with his health, food preferences, habits of exercise, sleep routines, pets, marriage, his wife's near-fatal illness, travel, and so forth. But it is as if he were dealing with a check list of topics one is supposed to touch on in a personal history ("Hobbies?" he writes at an appropriate place, "Practically none except reading. My work has been my hobby . . ." and so forth). Perhaps this is all that needs to be said

of some lives, even if they cover eighty years, as does Citrine's. On the other hand, think of what Bertrand Russell has written about his life and times!

City University of New York

ARNOLD A. ROGOW

SOE IN FRANCE: AN ACCOUNT OF THE WORK OF THE BRITISH SPECIAL OPERATIONS EXECUTIVE IN FRANCE, 1940-1944. By *M. R. D. Foot*. [History of the Second World War.] (London: H. M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Services, New York. 1966. Pp. xxvii, 550. \$8.10 postpaid.)

THE Scots have the reputation, but it is the English who are always looking for ways to save money. Or at least this is true when they are involved in war. So it was from 1939 to 1945, when British strategy centered on economy, both human and economic. The larger examples, led by Churchill's peripheral approach to the Continent, are well known, while the small ones are much whispered about.

The best of the latter was Special Operations Executive, an agency with diverse responsibilities that fit, in a general way, the popular impression of the British Secret Service. Foot's work is concerned with one aspect of SOE, its operations in France, where "what the British wanted above all to do was to re-establish an open society in which free men could govern themselves as they chose." If that was the policy, the method was sabotage and the raising of secret armies.

SOE was spectacularly successful. During the war it was widely believed that De Gaulle was a British puppet, and anti-Gaullists within France, both on the Left and on the Right, fed the rumor. No one, not even the most convinced Stalinist or Vichyite, any longer seriously believes that. De Gaulle retained his independence, even though "till 1944 the British had a virtual monopoly over all de Gaulle's means of communication with France." Aside from politics, which is incisively treated by Foot, SOE's record on sabotage and raising secret armies could hardly be improved upon. Foot demonstrates how the British, starting from nothing, were able to get the organizers and equipment into France for an efficient and significant resistance. By the end, the Maquis was, in Eisenhower's estimation, worth an independent army to the Allies.

Most of Foot's work is concerned with tactics, and as such it is a thriller that, to use the inevitable comparison, chills the reader as James Bond never could. It goes without saying, this being an official history, that the author is careful and judicious.

His major polemic is that the kind of work SOE did in France is by far the best way to hurt the enemy in areas frontline troops cannot reach. He inevitably compares the results achieved by SOE with those of RAF Bomber Command, itself an attempt to save money and lives and the only other method available to the British to hit the Germans on the Continent. Foot finds that the SOE both hurt the Germans in France more than the Bomber Command did and was enormously cheaper. Anyone can see, he concludes, "that bombers in those days could make bigger holes in the ground than agents could; but nobody

sensible believes that big holes in the ground are necessarily of military value." One big bomb cost more than the entire SOE explosives budget.

It is tempting to believe that agencies like SOE represent an economical short cut to victory, but the general situation prevailing in France during the second war is unlikely to be seen again. There was no SOE in Germany of any consequence. Foot recognizes this objection when he notes, "Wherever and whenever less than nineteen-twentieths of the mass of the population favoured the allies wholeheartedly, subversive activity became sticky, or highly dangerous, or downright impossible."

It remains to say that America's OSS was nowhere near as good as SOE and that this is the best-written and best-organized book I have read in a decade.

Johns Hopkins University

STEPHEN E. AMBROSE

THE PARLEMENT OF PARIS. By *J. H. Shennan*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1968. Pp. 359. \$8.75.)

No institution was more central to the growth of the monarchy of the *ancien régime* in France, and none more crucial in its debacle, than the Parlement of Paris. Yet there has been no general history of the great court even in French but only studies of particular periods of its history, or of specific episodes or magistrates. The need has now been met in this important and valuable book by a young English historian of the school of the late Mark Thomson. Shennan, a lecturer at the University of Lancaster, traces the history of the Parlement of Paris from its first dim emergence out of the diffuse institutions of the Capetian monarchy until its disappearance in the holocaust of the French Revolution.

The first part of the book is a detailed yet clear outline of the development of the Parlement as a judicial court, full of information and illumination. It is, however, the second part of the book, concerned with the political role of the Parlement, that will hold attention as a remarkable survey of French history from the High Middle Ages to the end of the early modern period as viewed from the perspective of the court's activity. It is a picture somewhat different from that seen by those who look primarily at the king, his ministers, or the nation. Although Shennan's analysis is too often one-sided in favor of constitutional and institutional history, his vision must be incorporated into any larger picture that itself aspires to comprehensiveness. Shennan's central assertion that the French monarchy was fundamentally judicial in character, that the king was above all else the great justiciar of the land, will not convince many readers who will admire so much else in the book. That the king was supreme judge is beyond dispute, but he was equally supreme commander and maker of policy. Nothing was more sacred to a Henry IV or a Louis XIV than his power of command. To argue, as Shennan does, that the rise of the bureaucratic state destroyed the reality of the king's judicial role and hence undercut the monarchy itself is to make too much of a good point. It amounts to seeing the French monarchy as the embodiment of an idea instead of as an inherently complex, multiple, and often inconsistent institution that is not reducible to a formula, as Shennan himself frequently demonstrates. Nonetheless, whether or not one accepts the theoretical underpinning that Shennan gives to his book, the solidity of its scholarship and

the brilliance of its argument are beyond question. This is one of the best books on the *ancien régime* to appear in recent years.

Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey

HERBERT H. ROWEN

L'OCTROI DE TOULOUSE À LA VEILLE DE LA RÉVOLUTION. By *Monique Gebhart* and *Claude Mercadier*. Preface by *Frédéric Mauro*. [Commission d'Histoire économique et sociale de la Révolution française. Mémoires et Documents, Number 21.] (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale. 1967. Pp. 163.)

THIS little monograph is a careful and exact study of the octroi of Toulouse, its farmers, its administration, and the frauds, contraband, and lawsuits incidental to its existence in the eighteenth century. The octroi, like those of other French towns under the old regime, was a tariff on goods imported into and exported from the city. Its proceeds paid the costs of municipal government. Instead of collecting these taxes directly, the town leased them, along with the exploitation of its patrimonial properties and income, to private financiers. Each lease was awarded under competitive bidding for six years. The financiers promised to pay the city stipulated advances and monthly payments and assumed the risk of profit and loss on the difference between what they collected at the gates and what they paid in, under their contracts, to the municipality. On a small scale, then, the associations that successively leased the octroi of Toulouse resembled the Company of the Farmers General. After 1740 the members were nonresidents, chiefly Parisians. On some leases they lost heavily. For administering the octroi they employed a staff of fifty, which remained stable from lease to lease even when the farm changed hands.

Using demographic estimates and the data of the octroi, the authors have tried to calculate the fluctuations in per capita consumption of flour, wine, and other commodities within the city. Although the per capita consumption of flour remained constant after 1771, the evidence suggests a slight growth for other commodities during the last four decades before the Revolution. The accelerating movement of goods shows that commercial activity and opportunity were expanding. On the other hand, since the prices of the goods that were taxed advanced 92 per cent from 1733 to 1789, the lower-class consumers were at a disadvantage.

In effect, this book is an excellent introduction to social and economic realities that have been neglected and about which too little has been known. Anyone interested in urban government, small-scale finance, and the socioeconomic conditions of prerevolutionary Toulouse will find it useful, bearing in mind, as the authors themselves insist, that gaps in the figures make the conclusions on economic development at best provisional.

University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

GEORGE V. TAYLOR

THE ENLIGHTENMENT IN FRANCE. By *Frederick B. Artz*. ([Kent, Ohio:] Kent State University Press. 1968. Pp. ix, 166. Cloth \$6.00, paper \$1.95.)

In this short work Professor Artz offers "an introduction to the principal writers of the Enlightenment in Eighteenth Century France." He devotes separate chap-

ters to Montesquieu, Voltaire, Diderot, Rousseau, and "Other French Reformers," and he includes chapters on "The Precursors of the Philosophes" and "The Nature of the Enlightenment in France." He concerns himself with the question of how "the whole climate of opinion was changed in France and the rest of Western Europe by . . . the Philosophes." An adequate and up-to-date bibliography is appended to the work.

To encompass the Enlightenment in France adequately within the space of 153 pages is a formidable or, rather, an impossible task of scholarship and, understandably, Artz fails in his effort. Less understandable are the omissions in his account of the Enlightenment and the shortcomings in his treatment of the Philosophes. He makes no reference to the ethical dilemma posed by the philosophy of the Enlightenment—moral relativism, moral nihilism—so exhaustively researched and persuasively argued by Lester G. Crocker. Peter Gay's bold and compelling interpretation of the Enlightenment as a dialectical interplay between Christianity and the "useful and beloved classical past," as the intellectual movement that substituted critical thinking for mythmaking, is barely mentioned. Carl Becker's sprightly but totally misleading animadversions on the philosophes, intercalated in the text as it were, only serve to confuse Artz's narrative. The "Precursors of the Philosophes" turn out to be "those authors whose ideas and arguments could be used in the Philosophes' propaganda." "The Nature of the Enlightenment in France" is never clearly described or defined although we learn that reason, faith, doubt, science, iconoclasm, humanitarianism, and irony entered into its make-up. Little attempt is made to relate the ideas of the philosophes to social and economic conditions: "the great growth of the middle classes" is offered as one of the causes for the changed climate of opinion.

Furthermore, the discussion of the principal philosophes frequently if unwittingly ends in contradiction or caricature with, for example, Rousseau being both the "voice [of] the [democratic] aspirations of the masses" and "more conservative" than Montesquieu himself. The Enlightenment is replete with ambiguity and contradictions, but it is not all confusion compounded. This book is inadequate as an introduction to that great intellectual movement not least because it fails to discuss its consistent themes and to illuminate its enduring, unambiguous contributions to modern thought.

University of California, Berkeley

GERALD J. CAVANAUGH

THE ROYAL PROVINCIAL INTENDANTS: A GOVERNING ELITE IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY FRANCE. By *Vivian R. Gruder*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1968. Pp. xiv, 293. \$10.00.)

THIS model monograph adds greatly to our knowledge of the training, intellectual formation, and social origins of an important group in eighteenth-century French society. It does not examine the intendants' political and social ideas, though the author promises a study on this subject. Nor does it deal with all of the eighteenth-century intendants. It is, rather, "an attempt to bridge the fields of administrative and social history" by a detailed discussion of the careers and family histories of ninety-four intendants who served during the periods 1710–1712, 1749–1751, and 1774–1776.

The author first describes the intendants' educational background, extensive experience, and service as *maîtres des requêtes*, which explain why they differed in outlook from other members of the nobility and why they so ably served the crown and the people. The second part of the book discusses officeholding, wealth, and nobility as the decisive factors in the selection of intendants. By skillful use of a comparative method, the author examines the social background of the intendants who served during the three periods studied and concludes that eighteenth-century "society was not closed and fixed; the high administration was not a self-perpetuating aristocratic preserve."

Professor Gruder's conclusions are provocative. She challenges the thesis of an "aristocratic reaction" during the eighteenth century and argues that historians must re-evaluate the causative relationship between the *ancien régime* and the Revolution. Why this study necessitates revision of the "aristocratic reaction" thesis is not at first entirely clear, because that thesis generally refers to the nobility of the robe and sword and excludes the administrative nobility. The conclusion, however, discusses recent writings that challenge the notion of an "aristocratic reaction" for all levels of the French nobility; it then becomes clear that this study of the intendants contributes to a growing body of revisionist literature by exploring an important but neglected aspect of the problem.

Though there is an abundance of detail in this book, frequent narrative summaries, fifteen tables, and four appendixes facilitate a clear and cogent statement of the thesis. Articles in provincial journals have been used well, and the bibliography is an excellent introduction to the administrative and social history of eighteenth-century France. Students of the *ancien régime* will benefit from comments on the unreliability of genealogical sources for the period and will note that Gruder revises some of Paul Ardascheff's observations about the social background of Louis XVI's intendants. Much of the author's information about the intendants' social backgrounds comes from manuscript sources in the *Cabinet des Titres* of the Bibliothèque Nationale.

Sound organization and careful use of sampling techniques and comparative method combine with fresh sources to make this book an important contribution to eighteenth-century studies.

Southern Illinois University, Carbondale

THADD E. HALL

THE FRENCH ENLIGHTENMENT AND THE JEWS. By *Arthur Hertzberg*. (New York: Columbia University Press; Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America. 1968. Pp. viii, 420. \$12.50.)

THIS interesting and important study portrays the events and processes that led to the emancipation of the Jews of France in 1790-1791, which had so great an impact on Jewish and Gentile relations in Europe from then on. Hertzberg, using a wealth of manuscript and primary sources, shows that the movements for Jewish emancipation in the eighteenth century were far from being clear-cut consequences of Enlightenment philosophy, or of Jewish demands and hopes for equality and assimilation into Western culture. Through careful study of the three chief Jewish communities, the Sephardim of Bordeaux and Bayonne, the Avignonnais of the Papal State, and the Ashkenazim of Alsace and Metz, he shows

that there were many ambiguities and ambivalences. Each group had different aspirations and desires. The Eastern Jews constituted the greatest problem since they were the poorest, the least Westernized, and the most despised group. They finally, barely, became legally emancipated in 1791, on the promise or hope that this would reform and regenerate them into decent and useful members of society.

Unfortunately some valuable manuscript material that exists in Holland and France has not been used in this study, and that material more clearly illuminates Jewish developments in France from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. Some recent studies, on De Pinto and on the Freemasons, which add some details to the picture, are also not utilized.

Hertzberg's examination of the non-Jewish discussions and debates on the Jewish problem during the eighteenth century is fascinating and controversial. The pamphlet literature, the answers submitted to the prize essay topic of 1785 in Metz on "Are There Means of Making the Jews Happy and More Useful in France?" the millenarian philo-Semitic arguments that also occurred in England in the seventeenth century, the Left-wing anti-Semitism of some of the Jacobins, the debates in the *Assemblée nationale*, are revealing of the varying opinions and tendencies of the time. Hertzberg's problems begin when he tries to put all this in a broader ideological context, running from the late sixteenth century through the Enlightenment. Chapter III on the earlier material is based on questionable interpretations of only a smattering of the available data, using mainly secondary sources. Much more ought to be done with the roles of Charron, Da Costa (who is not discussed), La Peyrère, Spinoza, Simon, Limborch, Orobio de Castro, Jurieu (also not discussed), Toland, Huet, and Bayle, as influences forcing a re-interpretation of the Jewish problem in Western thought. The discussion of the parts played by Montesquieu, Voltaire, Diderot, and Holbach in forming the pro-Jewish and anti-Semitic ideologies of modern times is intriguing and debatable. I believe that Hertzberg has pointed out some crucial factors regarding the genesis of modern secular anti-Semitism, but much more study is needed to determine how the great liberating movements, from the Renaissance and the Reformation to the Enlightenment and the socialist movement, generated a new form of anti-Semitism in which Jews, even emancipated ones, could still be aliens in the new, non-Christian world. Secularism and nationalism found the Jews a hostile element. The Jews, except in America and later in Israel, were unable to find a satisfactory *modus vivendi* as modern men and as Jews. The failure of both modern ideologies and Judaism to find a place for the unique status of the Jews within Western culture has bred tragedy after tragedy up to the "Holocaust." The ideological reasons for this history need a serious and thorough analysis. People may inveigh against Hertzberg's picture of Voltaire as the father of the new anti-Semitism, claiming that this portrayal is biased and lopsided, but Voltaire did provide the rationale for later nationalistic and socialistic anti-Semitism and did provide the ideology for excluding historical Judaism from a possible role in the "enlightened" West. I believe, as does Hertzberg, that it was not merely anti-Christianity that led to this, but something more basic. Judaism, with its roots in a continuing providential world and mission, could not be allowed in the new humanistic dreams stemming from Erasmus and Voltaire.

We have to ascertain why the West has felt so threatened by this small, sometimes pious group, struggling to exist and to fulfill its commitment to God. Hertzberg's book is a very important opening to discussions of fundamental themes in Jewish-Gentile relations in the modern West. One can only hope that much more scholarly work will now be done in this area to help resolve some of the basic riddles.

University of California, San Diego

RICHARD H. POPKIN

LA RÉFORME MUNICIPALE DU CONTROLEUR GÉNÉRAL LAVERDY ET SON APPLICATION (1764-1771). By *Maurice Bordes*. [Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences humaines de Toulouse, Series A, Number 5.] ([Toulouse:] Association des Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences humaines de Toulouse. [1968.] Pp. 351. 44 fr.)

THE work discussed here is a thesis that deals with one of the many missed opportunities of the last decades of the *ancien régime*, an abortive attempt to reform French municipal life. Evidently conceived by François de Laverdy, *Contrôleur général* from 1763 to 1768, this reform was intended at the same time to rationalize local government in those French communities that had some form of corporate life and to provide it in many communities that were unorganized. In this connection, the author takes pains to point out that communities having municipal bodies at their head were much more numerous in southern France than they were in the northern part. The proposed reform was radical, or, as the author puts it, was imbued with a "certain liberalism": the election of deputies was to involve not only the privileged orders and the bourgeoisie but also craftsmen, and the representatives of the artisans would sometimes have a majority in the municipal assemblies of deputies.

In his attempt to implement his scheme, Laverdy enjoyed some support from some parlements and much opposition from other quarters, especially in the South, where traditional municipal institutions were more firmly rooted. The most effective opposition came from great seigneurs like the Duc d'Uzès and the Prince de Conti, from the "bonne bourgeoisie" of the towns, and from the intendants. M. Bordes thinks that, this opposition notwithstanding, Laverdy might have been able to carry off the enterprise had the royal government shown more determination. As it was, Choiseul, who is described as Laverdy's protector, lost interest in the project; Saint-Florentin and Bertin, both influential at the administrative center, did not support Laverdy. Indeed, Bertin could hardly have been expected to support the person who succeeded him in the *Contrôle général*. Further, Laverdy seems to have been a man of limited competence.

Be this as it may, Laverdy was dismissed in 1768, and in 1771, under Terray, the government issued an edict suppressing the reform entirely. The abrogation of this reform and the municipal confusion that followed count, Bordes maintains, "among the causes of discontent of the bourgeoisie at the end of the *Ancien régime*." What he means by "bourgeoisie" at this point is not entirely clear.

American students of French eighteenth-century local administrative history will profit from the details presented in this book. They will also have cause to wonder about departures from what they have come to consider strengths in

French scholarly technique. That there is no index should come as no surprise, but that there is no methodological or bibliographical essay is another matter. Surely, the interested reader should be told why, in a book that seems to be based mainly on materials found in the *Archives Départementales* and *Archives Communales* (and it should be emphasized that Bordes visited many local depositories where he worked over Series B, C, and E in the AD and Series AA, BB, and D in the AC), he found it necessary for Dauphiné to use only papers in the *Bibliothèque municipale*. There is probably a good reason, and the explanation would be helpful.

American University

DAVID J. BRANDENBURG

THE GENTLE BONAPARTE: A BIOGRAPHY OF JOSEPH, NAPOLEON'S ELDER BROTHER. By *Owen Connelly*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1968. Pp. xiv, 335. \$6.95.)

Two hundred years after his birth Joseph Bonaparte, Napoleon's elder brother, has at last received his first full-length biography in English. And a rich and engrossing story Professor Connelly has provided, correcting old distortions of Joseph's personality and supplying valuable details on his long and troubled career before, during, and after the revolutionary upheaval.

In the place of a good-natured but somewhat lazy, pleasure-loving, and amiably incompetent dilettante, we are presented with a man of unusually engaging personality, an urbane and sophisticated charmer, hard working, dedicated to his tasks and assignments, admired, respected, and, by many of his contemporaries, held in affectionate esteem. Not only a man endowed with the graces, he was also a man of ideas and high convictions. For Joseph, as Bernardin de Saint-Pierre held, far more than the brother who eclipsed him, was a true philosopher king. In him one saw the embodiment of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment. Its mythic assumptions and presuppositions were also his: the natural goodness of man, his perfectibility through enlightened education, and the perfectibility of society through the systematic application of reason and good will in the conduct of human affairs.

Though *Brumaire* doomed the republic he had served and wished at heart to continue to serve, his influence remained great upon the First Consul. Officially and even more unofficially, he worked closely with the government and not least as its key diplomat in the negotiations that brought religious and political peace. From 1806 to 1808 he was King of Naples, and the record of what he accomplished in the reformation of society and government was notable. But circumstances defeated his full intentions, as they did in the violent years from 1808 to 1814 when he reigned without ruling in Spain. He failed in Spain, but he failed nobly and not because he was "too good a man to be king," as Napoleon believed, or feigned to believe. More salutary neglect and less bludgeoning on the part of the Emperor might have decisively altered the Spanish story and not doomed Joseph's efforts from the very start.

The author has given his readers so much; his biography is so lucid, sympathetic, and balanced that it is almost churlish to regret that he has not given

them more; or, more precisely, given it differently. There is rather too much on "the times" and rather too little on "the life" in this straightforward life-and-times account, rather too many details on the military side of the story and too few on the remarkable experiment in enlightened despotism. Not all readers would agree with this opinion; most would, however, acknowledge their indebtedness to the author of this valuable study.

New York University

LEO GERSHOY

RASPAIL: SCIENTIST AND REFORMER. By *Dora B. Weiner*. With a chapter by *Simone Raspail*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1968. Pp. xiv, 336. \$11.00.)

How "Raspail" refers to a boulevard, a liqueur, and a pharmacy is made clear by Dr. Weiner in this penetrating biography of one of France's forgotten men. His most widely known invention was the use of camphor in the ointments and oils that soothed the childish pains of an older generation ungratefully ignorant of their benefactor. A radical in science, he refused to qualify for a degree and remained a confirmed enemy of the establishment, whether in church, government, or in medicine. Educated for the clergy in traditionalist Carpentras, he came under the influence of a Jansenist priest whose individualism marked François Vincent Raspail (1794-1878) for life. Idealizing Napoleon, he went to Paris after the Bourbon Restoration, began under difficulties to study science, became associated with social reform and republican politics, and was involved in the July revolution. From 1830 he discovered the impossibility of simultaneously pursuing science and revolutionary purposes in nineteenth-century France. He was a complex and difficult genius whose distinguished beginnings in science had to compromise with his sense of the responsibility of society for public health and hygiene. He found himself against the establishments and them in turn against him, but he exerted a powerful influence among the working classes through his clinics, and it is not yet extinct. He pioneered in using microscopes in biology, in the study of cell structure, and in applying chemical methods in the life sciences. Camphor was his favorite remedy; humanitarian and democratic ideals were his religion. He entered public life so fully that he ran for President against Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte and, after opposing the Second Empire, was imprisoned, exiled, and finally became a father figure in the nascent Third Republic.

Weiner has spent years in research for this densely documented volume. She has found considerable unexplored material, particularly in numerous public and private archives. Copiously annotated, the book carries its erudition with grace and charm; the author's insight and candor fascinate the reader with a sense of what *la petite histoire* can contribute to general history. It is regrettable that a few French sources have not been adequately rendered and that there is indecision over transcribing titles of periodicals and books in French or English. Passages from French correspondence might be more pungent in the original, but the book is not designed for specialists in French history; rather, it is for those in other fields who may benefit by looking at a man who fought against routine and tradition for the good of the greatest number. This is the first scholarly discussion

of Raspail's career as a whole, the first work on him in English, and it fills a notable gap in our knowledge about nineteenth-century France.

Brown University

HARCOURT BROWN

RECUEIL DES TRAVAUX HISTORIQUES DE FERDINAND LOT. Volume I. With a foreword by *Ch. Samaran*, a notice and a biography by *Ch.-E. Perrin*, and a bibliography by *I. Vildé-Lot* and *M. Mahn-Lot*. [Centre de Recherches d'Histoire et de Philologie de la IV^e Section de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études. Series V, Hautes études médiévales et modernes, Number 4.] (Geneva: Librairie Droz. 1968. Pp. xviii, 785.)

UN HISTORIEN FRANÇAIS: FERDINAND LOT, 1866-1952. By *Ch.-Edmond Perrin*. [Travaux d'histoire éthico-politique, Number 15.] (Geneva: Librairie Droz. 1968. Pp. 122.)

FERDINAND Lot would have rejoiced in this volume. He loved to do scholarly work, and he had a modest but proper pride in his own accomplishments. Even more, he felt that the final proof of a scholar's work was his ability to inspire a new generation of historians. This collection of his historical essays satisfies both of his desires. It demonstrates his remarkable talents as a scholar; it would never have appeared without the devoted efforts of his former colleagues and students, especially those of the editor, Ch.-E. Perrin.

Perrin did not have an easy task. Obviously, not all of the 388 items in the bibliography so carefully prepared by Mmes. Vildé-Lot and Mahn-Lot could be published. Lot was as much at home in Celtic and medieval French literature as he was in history; all his work in the field of literature has had to be laid aside. He was, with good reason, a severe critic of the French system of higher education and wrote some substantial articles on the subject. These articles, however interesting they might be during the present crisis, have also been omitted. Even so, the *Recueil* will run to at least four volumes.

Perrin introduces us to his master with a moving and very personal biography. One is impressed, first of all, by the even tenor of Lot's life. Never very strong, never able to drive himself to do more than a normal day's work, Lot produced a prodigious number of publications simply by sticking to his job. His remarkable qualities were revealed in his first book on the last Carolingians (1891); they are equally apparent in the works of his old age on medieval armies (1946) or the population of Gallo-Roman towns (1945-53). Second, even if Lot had never written his articles criticizing French higher education, the slowness with which his merit was recognized is in itself a telling criticism of the system. Finally, these pages are an eloquent tribute to the affection and admiration that Lot could inspire in his students.

As for the articles in the present volume, they illustrate the unusual combination of qualities that made Lot a great historian. He enjoyed the highly technical work of textual criticism; as he said in one of his early reviews, every historian should know how to establish a text and how to discuss its authenticity and provenance; hence, the articles on Pseudo-Fredegarius, the False Decretals, Nennius and Gildas. But, along with this technical skill, Lot possessed a powerful imagination, an ability to see the large problems that interest all thinking men as well as

the small problems that interest only a handful of scholars; hence, his concern about the origins of the French nation, the nature of feudalism, and the gradual disappearance of Latin as a spoken language. We see here the knowledge and the insight that were to produce such notable works of synthesis as *La fin du monde antique*.

One last remark: Ferdinand Lot, born in 1866, belonged to a generation of historians that felt its first duty was to establish authentic editions of the sources and its final end to produce accurate political and institutional histories. Lot continued to believe in the value of institutional history; at the very end of his life he planned and partially completed a history of French institutions. (His student, Robert Fawtier, carried the study through the second volume, and the work progresses, in spite of Fawtier's untimely death.) But, with all his interest in institutions, Lot realized, long before it became a dogma of the new school of historians, the value of economic and social history. His interest in demographic problems was evident at least as early as 1921, and *La fin du monde antique* (1927) was based on socioeconomic data. While he was planning the history of French institutions he was writing his three volumes on the population of Gallo-Roman cities. In short, there are many entrances to that inner chamber of the temple of Clio reserved for the great historians. If Lot chose an entrance that most of our contemporaries would shun, he still arrived at his destination.

Princeton University

JOSEPH R. STRAYER

LA ESPAÑA DEL ANTIGUO RÉGIMEN: ESTUDIOS HISTÓRICOS. Edited by Miguel Artola. Part 3, CASTILLA LA VIEJA. By Ma. Pilar Calonge Matellanes et al. [Acta Salmanticensia, Filosofía y letras, Number 55.] ([Salamanca:] Universidad de Salamanca. 1967. Pp. 142, 8 maps.)

This is the second installment to date (its predecessor dealt with Salamanca [1966]) of a planned regional survey of eighteenth-century Spain intended to study local administrative subdivisions, population movements, social structure, and economic life. This volume on Old Castile covers about one-tenth of the whole country, for the ancient kingdom of this name included not only the existing provinces of Burgos, Soria, Segovia, and Avila, but also Santander, Logroño, and smaller areas taken away from it in the provincial reorganization of 1833. The text rests entirely, except for census data, upon published materials and includes numerous tables, graphs, and maps; the last, actually forty separate sheets depicting *partido* and other districts and the distribution of villages, towns, and aristocratic domains, are collected in a pocket at the back of the book. In chapters on the geography, population, seigneurial regime, and economy of Old Castile, the three collaborators (Ma. P. Calonge Matellanes, E. García Zarza, and Ma. E. Rodríguez Sánchez) bring out the area's principal features. In the course of the century the population virtually doubled to one million, with 74 per cent of it under forty years of age in 1797; such an age distribution, along with the high birth and mortality rates and low life expectancy, reflects a relatively primitive society—a conclusion confirmed by the fact that the peasantry made up 77 per cent of the inhabitants of this region, which was overwhelmingly agrarian and pastoral except for the textile towns of Segovia and Burgos. Especially extensive

treatment is given the local aristocracy: the principal families and their landholdings or areas of seigneurial jurisdiction are identified and their wide range of administrative, judicial, and tax controls fully described. Some 40 per cent of Old Castile is shown to have remained outside direct or full royal control until the Cortes of 1811 abolished the old feudal *señoríos* and converted the nobles into an even more powerful latifundian class.

Obviously this informative work has its limitations. It will need to be supplemented by research in local and national archives before the full picture is available. The apparent reservation of urban centers such as Burgos or Segovia for separate treatment leaves many rural-urban questions unanswered. The treatment of clergy and peasantry is much less full or satisfactory than that accorded the nobles. Use of Miñano's *Diccionario Geográfico-Estadístico* of 1826-1828 is rightly made but, given his reputation for error, this introduces an element of uncertainty into the data. Nevertheless, this volume, and Professor Artola's project as a whole, merits praise and encouragement; only through such a regional survey can we hope to get a true picture of eighteenth-century Spain and understand what conditions were really like prior to the many social and economic changes of the last century and a half.

University of Virginia

C. J. BISHKO

LA GUERRA DE LOS AGRAVIADOS. By *Jaime Torras Elías*. Preface by *Carlos Seco Serrano*. [Universidad de Barcelona, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Sección de Historia.] (Barcelona: Publicaciones de la Cátedra de Historia General de España; distrib. by Editorial Teide, Barcelona. 1967. Pp. xxi, 216.)

FEDERALISMO Y REVOLUCIÓN: LAS IDEAS SOCIALES DE PI Y MARGALL. By *Antonio Jutglar Bernaus*. Preface by *Carlos Seco Serrano*. [Universidad de Barcelona, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras.] (Barcelona: Publicaciones de la Cátedra de Historia General de España; distrib. by Editorial Teide, Barcelona. 1966. Pp. xvii, 228.)

THESE two books belong to a series on modern Spanish history edited by Professor Carlos Seco Serrano of the University of Barcelona. Substantial appendixes give the texts of the central sources of the studies. Neither book adds notable luster to the Barcelona school of history founded by the late Jaime Vicens Vives.

Jaime Torras Elías' work is a careful, not very imaginative account of a royalist revolt in Catalonia in 1827. The *Agraviados* or malcontents demanded that Ferdinand VII undo the few reforms remaining from the Liberal regime of 1820-1823. They claimed the King was a prisoner of his ministers. Torras shows that their leaders were clergymen and officers of the royalist rebellion of 1822. The former wanted to revive the Inquisition; the latter to obtain active commissions in the royal army. Their following was in the countryside, where the peasants suffered from a long price decline. Torras holds that the *Agraviados* were the first true Carlists since, unlike earlier royalists, they were ready to question Ferdinand's legitimacy if he ignored their demands. Carlist historians, he says, have obscured the connection because it discredits the sincerity of the later Carlist defense of royal absolutism.

The King weakened the rebel cause and ended the revolt by going in person to Catalonia. They failed because they aroused little response elsewhere in Spain. Torras makes no attempt to explain why the rising was limited to Catalonia, which never became the center of Carlist strength. Vicens Vives has shown that banditry flourished in Catalonia at this time. Was there any connection?

Antonio Jutglar Bernaus' study of the thought of Francisco Pi y Margall is more ambitious but less satisfactory. Pi was the leading Spanish Federalist and a President of the First Republic in 1873. Jutglar proposes to analyze "the dialectic relation between [Pi's] thought and action," but little space is spent on Pi's political actions. The result is a confusing review of Pi's writings, which seeks to establish that he was influenced by Hegel and anticipated the ideas of Proudhon, whom he is usually said to have copied. Rather than a proletarian revolutionary, Jutglar argues, Pi was basically a bourgeois liberal who wanted to see workers and peasants turned into small property owners. His doctrinaire federalism was really a bourgeois, not a proletarian, policy. It could not attract the workers and was too radical for Catalan and Basque industrialists, and so Spain fell back into the grip of the agrarian interests.

Most of this is valid and not particularly original, except Jutglar's view of nineteenth-century Spanish history as revolving around a bourgeois-proletarian conflict that left politicians little alternative between the two sides. This picture, which may fit the history of the industrializing nations, hardly represents Spain of that time. Like Pi y Margall, Jutglar allows his doctrinaire rigidity to cloud his understanding.

University of California, Berkeley

RICHARD HERR

SUOMALAISEN SVEN LEIJONMARCKIN OSUUS VUODEN 1734 LAIN NAIMISKAAREN LAADINNASSA: KAAREN TÄRKEIMPIEN SÄÄNNÖSTÖJEN MUOKKAUTUMINEN, 1689-1694. By *Heikki Ylikangas*. [Historiallisia Tutkimuksia, Volume LXXI.] (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura, 1967. Pp. 333.)

VANHAN SUOMEN SUOMALAISUUSLIKE. Volume II. By *Jouko Teperi*. [Historiallisia Tutkimuksia, Volume LXIX, Number 2.] (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura, 1967. Pp. 293.)

POHJOIS-POHJANMAAN KAUPPIAIDEN JA TALONPOIKIEN VÄLISET KAUPPA-JA LUOTTO-SUHTEET 1765-1809. By *Toini Aunola*. [Historiallisia Tutkimuksia, Volume LXXII.] (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura, 1967. Pp. 459.)

THE Law of the Swedish Realm of 1734, a notable constitutional landmark, has long been the focus of scholarly attention. Heikki Ylikangas examines the role of the Finnish-born political figure and jurist, Sven Leijonmarck (1649-1728), in the work of the twelve-member commission charged with responsibility for preparing the marriage code. Leijonmarck had studied law at Turku and Uppsala Universities, served in the state archives, and from 1702 to 1721 was vice-president of the Turku Court of Appeals. Leijonmarck's participation in the commission during the years 1689-1694, as Ylikangas attests, was neither forceful nor decisive, yet his knowledge of the law, his devotion to the concept of natural law,

and his quiet and philosophical manner did influence the commission's deliberations. His major contribution, Ylikangas concludes, was an "individualism that stressed personal legal security and freedom."

The vicissitudes of the Fennoman movement in eastern Finland during the 1850's and 1860's form the subject matter of Jouko Teperi's study. (A volume published in 1965 dealt with its origins and early development.) The program of the eastern Fennomen, centered in Viipuri, Teperi finds in the views of such leaders as Johannes Althan, Carl I. Qvist, and Axel G. Corander, the editorial stances of such newspapers as *Otava* and *Aamurushko*, and the activities of the Viipuri Finnish Literature Society. The distinguishing feature of eastern Fennomanism was its "uncompromising, one-sided, and aggressive" advocacy of economic, social, and political reform, designed to awaken, enlighten, and uplift the rural masses. Asserted one of the leaders, "Without changes in our social structure, without the entry of new elements into our common life, all our efforts will be fruitless." A purely nationality and language approach was dismissed as inadequate.

Toini Aunola's contribution is a careful analysis of trade and credit relations between merchants and farmers in North Ostrobothnia during the years 1765-1809, based primarily on an exhaustive examination of the account books of leading commercial houses. Despite the jaundiced views of governmental officials, credit trading was common in northern Finland. An Oulu customs official reported that, "There are many things going on here, lending and borrowing, trade and bankruptcies." Only about one-quarter of the farmers generally were able to balance their accounts with merchants, even in periods of relative prosperity, and no more than one in twenty was able to remain continuously free of debt. As much as one-half of the gross wealth of leading merchants was represented by debts owed them by farmers; competition among lenders was spirited, and failures were common. Yet, as Aunola shows, the system had advantages: many farmers "saw their debts diminish" during the period's unceasing inflation; more affluent merchants profited from large-scale trading; the state's "ever-empty" treasury received tax payments; and the economy as a whole benefited from regular deliveries of export goods. Indeed, concludes the author, the region's social and economic progress could be traced back to "this entrepreneurial activity."

Heidelberg College

JOHN I. KOLEHMAINEN

DIE VERWALTUNG DES HAUPTAMTES BRANDENBURG-OST-
PREUSSEN VON 1713 BIS 1751. By *Hannelore Juhr*. (Berlin: [the Author.]
1967. Pp. 172.)

DR. Juhr found in the course of preparing her study of an East Prussian district that the royal civil service there was less effective than she had expected. I found in the course of reading it that they were more effective than I should have expected. Her undertaking to show "a piece of East Prussian local administration in the age of high absolutism" leads to a concluding paragraph on the "stubborn, passive power of what existed" (pp. 33, 172). But the story between tells of the steady emasculation and destruction of older regional and district administration by royal cameral government, with its familiar apparatus of *Steuerräte*, *Landräte*, and

domain jurisdictions. She describes the appointment of "new men" from outside the district into old offices which were allowed to stand; these were commonly unqualified retired soldiers, and their appointment accompanied the evolution of their offices into powerless sinecures (p. 39: she quotes Hans Rosenberg on "the blending of civil and military administration"). She describes the juggling of jurisdictions to shift channels and location of administrative and fiscal power; she tells of the progressive exclusion of traditional *Hauptamtleute* from the towns and from the domains where once they had ruled; she notes the practice of "forgetting" the old offices and officers in new administrative regulations. The process was not *Gleichschaltung* by fiat, to be sure; it avoided direct confrontation wherever possible, and there was plenty of corruption, intrigue, and private ambition among the civil servants. But it was a game at which the latter far outmatched "the power of the existing." The tactics and expedients royal officials applied appear as evidence of weakness when they are placed alongside the model of rational omnipotent bureaucracy, animated by a "stern sense of duty," that is the author's recurring point of comparison. But as documentation of the resources, the ingenuity, and the skills of the Prussian civil service of the early eighteenth century, they are evidence that the Prussian administrative and constitutional historians from Schmoller to Hintze were more nearly right than one might have thought they were.

Cornell University

MACK WALKER

THE GERMAN CONCEPTION OF HISTORY: THE NATIONAL TRADITION OF HISTORICAL THOUGHT FROM HERDER TO THE PRESENT. By *Georg G. Iggers*. (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press. 1968. Pp. xii, 363. \$10.00.)

IGGERS here expands upon, supplies the connecting tissue between, quotes at length and almost verbatim from, but nowhere mentions two of his own earlier articles. The title of the second of these suggests the thesis of the book as well: "The Dissolution of German Historicism [*sic*]," in the *Festschrift* for Louis Gottschalk (*Ideas in History* [1965]). The thesis is that classical German historicism has not simply "dissolved" in the twentieth century but, rather, that it deserved to dissolve, having been logically untenable as well as politically damaging. The political part of the thesis is recognizably a version, perhaps more sophisticated, of the "From Luther (or Hegel, or Bismarck, or Nietzsche) to Hitler" approach to recent German history, which establishes a diabolical genealogy for the horrors of National Socialism. Here the progenitors are Wilhelm von Humboldt and Leopold von Ranke, though Hegel continues to serve as an auxiliary evil genius. One essential element of such a thesis is continuity. Iggers is concerned to maintain that the decisionism of Jünger and Heidegger is traceable not only to the generations of Troeltsch (whose efforts are patronized as "pathetic") and Dilthey (who wanted "to have his cake and eat it, too") but to the beginning of the nineteenth century. One passage in this argument is worth quoting at some length because it also epitomizes many of the strengths and weaknesses of the book: "From the vantage point of our time we look at the past, particularly before the outbreak of World War I, to find the roots of our cultural malaise. True, some

of the roots are there. But we may be easily tempted to a one-sided view of this period, seeing it from the perspective of the great upheavals and catastrophes of the past half century. The role of ethical relativism, irrationalism, and cultural pessimism in social thought, at the turn of the century, has been probably overdramatized in some of the recent literature. It is doubtful whether modern relativism in regard to ethical and political values arose primarily as a result of the methodological discussions of that period. The famous distinction between the methods applicable to the cultural sciences and those of the natural sciences did not suddenly originate with Dilthey and Windelband, but went back to a line of thought which had its origins in the revolt of the German Historical School against the tradition of natural law. Perhaps much more important than the disenchantment with religion and metaphysics among positivistic writers, in the course of the nineteenth century, was the insistence of German historically oriented writers to approach ideas and values not in terms of absolute norms of truth or good, but as expressions of a specific age, culture, or people." A second and complementary part of the political indictment is the legacy of nationalism and uncritical adulation of the state allegedly inherited from Humboldt and Ranke. Iggers' interpretations of these two are too much influenced by Kachler and Von Laue, respectively, and Humboldt and Ranke are accordingly scolded for their political views, as indeed are almost all of the historians discussed.

Iggers' concern with "political values" as much as with "theoretical presuppositions" is justified in terms of the connection alleged between the two, between "the crisis of German liberal thought" and "the crisis of German historicism": "Historicism carried into a technological and scientific age a conception of society and a methodology [Ranke's] better suited to the study of certain aspects of the politics and the intellectual life of a predemocratic age." But historicism is faulted for an intrinsically abortive epistemology as well, for its insistence on "the uniqueness of all human activity." Iggers, who appears to favor a straightforward correspondence theory of truth, attacks this theoretical basis of historicism as being antiphilosophical, excluding "the possibility of any historical contribution to a scientific approach to the questions of the nature of man or of the overall direction of human history." Burckhardt, Max Weber, and the school of the *Annales* are praised for paying attention to types and structures in history, although Dilthey's attempts to meet the same need are dismissed as contradictory. The argument for "directional development" in history is based on the allegedly undeniable progressive tendencies to be found in the history of science, although it is just these tendencies that are denied in T. S. Kuhn's brilliant recent work, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. Iggers himself admits in the end that "the nature of history may indeed, as the historicists have maintained, speak against linear development in history." Such concessions, however, do not diminish the vigor with which Iggers attacks the historicists for the "inner contradictions" of their "tradition" as well as for having "contributed to the atmosphere that facilitated the rise of an authoritarian regime."

As a thorough and reasonably clear exposition of the ideas of a number of important figures and as a conscientious work of scholarship based almost entirely on printed sources, this book may be useful to experienced scholars able to read it with discrimination who need information not readily available elsewhere, as, for

example, on the Ranke-Leo controversy. In the hands of students the volume may, despite some perceptive comments, do more harm than good, confirming prejudices rather than provoking thought. Both categories of reader are likely to be annoyed by the not infrequent solecisms, the unidiomatic translations, and the mistakes and anomalies in the endnotes, but all of these are less important than the intrusiveness of Iggers' hostility to his subject. Apart from the dubious and oversimplified political argument, historicism, though originating and most concentrated in Germany, is better analyzed in the context of universal historiographical problems than as a phenomenon characteristic of any one country.

University of Keele

W. M. SIMON

FRIEDRICH WILHELM II. KÖNIG VON PREUSSEN: EIN LEBENSBILD.

By W. M. Frhr. v. Bissing. (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot. 1967. Pp. 187. DM 26.60.)

BISSING's stated purpose is to draw a portrait of Friedrich Wilhelm II of Prussia (1786-1797) on the basis of the most recent research, rather than to re-examine all of the appropriate primary sources. The paucity of adequate biographical studies—Bissing regards Stanhope's *A Mystic on the Prussian Throne* (1912) as the best of an otherwise mediocre lot—makes this a legitimate and commendable purpose.

Bissing's portrait highlights Friedrich Wilhelm's mystical tendencies, his consequent involvement with the Rosicrucians, and his complicated relations with the fairer sex. Bissing regards the former as a pious reaction to Frederick the Great's deistic rationalism, while the latter, more schoolboyish than licentious, might be considered a reaction to Frederick's misogyny. The contrast between nephew and uncle is not absolute, however, for Bissing repeatedly asserts that neither mystics nor women ultimately determined Friedrich Wilhelm's policies, that the King jealously guarded royal prerogatives, and that he acted in keeping with his understanding of Prussian interests (an understanding not, however, based on a rationalistic *raison d'état*). Bissing readily admits the King's talents did not match his pretensions. Thus his reign only confirmed Prussia's isolation in international politics and did not accomplish the administrative reforms necessitated by the territories added through the Polish partitions. Still Bissing rejects Treitschke's view that only the ineffectiveness of the monarch prevented Prussia from seizing German leadership as it did after 1860.

Using a common biographical device, Bissing attempts to epitomize Friedrich Wilhelm as a true man of his times, *ein Mensch des Rokoko*, but this use of "Rococo" is an invocation of an artificial formula rather than of a meaningful historical concept. More disconcerting than the strained use of "Rococo," however, is Bissing's failure, despite his statement of purpose, to employ recent research. His bibliography and notes indicate minimal reference to secondary works published since 1945 and almost none to non-German works. Even so his conclusions are hardly controversial if only because of his reliance on such older authorities as Ranke, Hintze, and Koser, who have worn tolerably well. This volume consequently provides a brief, intelligible introduction to a monarch and a reign

usually obscured by the more vigorous character of the Frederician Age or the more dramatic currents of the revolutionary epoch.

Alma College

WILLIAM J. MCGILL

YEAR BOOK XII. [Publications of the Leo Baeck Institute.] (London: East and West Library for the Institute. 1967. Pp. xxvi, 323.)

STUDIES OF THE LEO BAECK INSTITUTE. Edited by *Max Kreutzberger*. (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Company. 1967. Pp. x, 318. \$6.50.)

THE twelfth annual yearbook of the Leo Baeck Institute continues the established pattern of these books by devoting twelve essays to one topic: Jewish intellectual life in Germany since the emancipation (1800). Monographs on two schools of higher education—the “Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums” by Richard Fuchs and the “Berlin Rabbinical Seminary” by Isi Jacob Eisner—describe their programs and curriculums during Nazi rule until their suppression in 1942 and 1938, respectively. Essays on Jews in politics and literature range from a re-examination of Friedrich Julius Stahl, the father of Prussian conservatism, by Robert A. Kann and an evaluation of the poet Michael Beer by Lothar Kahn to an examination of Franz Kafka’s Zionist attitudes by Hartmut Binder. As a whole, these articles effectively illustrate the German-Jewish ambiosis in its variegated nuances: attraction and repulsion, assimilation and rejection, love and hatred.

I found interesting and valuable data in Kurt Grünwald’s forty-nine-page essay “Europe’s Railways and Jewish Enterprise” and Rahel Liebschütz’ “The Wind of Change—Letters of Two Generations from the Biedermeier Period,” which contains family correspondence of and by Simon Belmont (1789–1859) who was the father of the American financier August Belmont (1813–1890). The story of the involvement of Jewish-owned banks, such as the various branches of the Rothschilds, Goldschmidts, or Bischoffsheims, who had offices in the major European cities, would be even more useful if some of the over-all quantitative and qualitative statistics on European railroad construction and financing between 1835 and 1875 had been provided.

The *Studies of the Leo Baeck Institute* consist of nine lectures originally presented at the Leo Baeck Institute in New York. Five of these studies treat specific problems, facts, and periods of German-Jewish history, the stated field of the institute, while the other papers reach beyond this area of research: they draw upon and elucidate facets of history and ideas that help toward an understanding of the contemporary Jewish situation (Gerson D. Cohen, “Messianic Postures of Ashkenazim and Sephardim”; Oscar Handlin, “Jews in the Culture of Middle Europe”; Jacob B. Agus, “Myth, Faith, and Reality in Jewish Life”; and Ellis Rivkin, “The Diaspora: Its Historical Significance”).

For many centuries Jewish life had been narrowly confined, with only rare contacts with the outside world. When the Age of the Emancipation began with Moses Mendelssohn, who died in 1786, it stimulated a climate of receptiveness for European, particularly German, cultural and intellectual influences; it ushered in the struggle for equal rights in public life and for a share in the economic growth of the nineteenth century. In less than 150 years, barely encompassing five

generations, this process unfolded itself to reach its apex between the two world wars.

During these same years, before the history of German-speaking Jewry reached its catastrophic end, cultural and intellectual achievements were produced, achievements that were to influence world events and the thought of mankind.

In the field of Judaica, modern Orthodoxy, the Reform and the conservative movements as viable forms of religious expressions received their first impetus among German Jews. The question of survival in the midst of continuing secularization and assimilation was already widely debated at the turn of the century. The science of Judaism ("die Wissenschaft des Judentums") and modern political Zionism were born in Germany, and much of their classic literature was produced there. The essays by Fritz Bamberger ("Leo Baeck: The Man and the Idea"), Erich Kahler ("The Jews and the Germans"), Hans J. Morgenthau ("The Tragedy of German-Jewish Liberalism"), Jacob Katz ("The German-Jewish Utopia of Social Emancipation"), and George L. Mosse ("The Influence of the Völkisch Idea on German Jewry") treat various aspects of this German-Jewish dialogue. These aspects at the same time encompassed wider concerns: "a wider perspective of recent developments has made us aware of the fact that those monstrosities [. . . what happened in Germany . . .] form part of an overall trend . . . , a trend toward progressive overcivilized dehumanization," as stated by Kahler, who contributes much toward an understanding of the problem of Jewish identity vis-à-vis the claims of the modern nation-state. That the clash occurred in Germany and took such tragic forms highlights a unique relationship, "an interpretation of dispositions and destinies, which, in both peoples, touched the nerve of existence."

Mosse's paper on the influence of the "völkisch" ideology concludes with three questions that well summarize and demarcate the historical perspective of these materials: "The end was tragic, but the problems which they tried to solve still haunt our times. For who among us has found a way to end alienation? Who has bridged the gap between materialism and human creativity? Who has succeeded in transforming modern nationalism into a belief where genuine culture is more important than outward and aggressive power?"

East Los Angeles College

FRANK ROSENTHAL

GERMANY IN THE AGE OF BISMARCK. By *W. M. Simon*. [Historical Problems: Studies and Documents, Number 2.] (New York: Barnes and Noble. 1968. Pp. x, 14-246. \$5.75.)

THIS book is part of a new series, published in England, which differs from similar publications inasmuch as the documentary section is preceded by an extensive introductory essay. Almost a monograph in itself, Professor Simon's preface provides a remarkably comprehensive survey of the Bismarck era, based on the most recent literature and full of perceptive insights and comments on the Chancellor and his time. In the limited space allotted to him, Simon has been able to explore in depth such complex issues as the Prussian constitutional conflict of the 1860's, the Kulturkampf, the rise of socialism (with some inter-

esting observations on the extent of the impact of Marxism on the Social Democratic party), and the final clash between Bismarck and William II. Simon is primarily interested in the Chancellor's domestic policies, but enough information is provided on Bismarck's diplomacy to round out the story.

The documents, which deal almost exclusively with domestic problems, are well selected, with, perhaps, one exception. Just because the emphasis is placed on internal developments one wishes that some more telling material had been provided on the increasingly poisonous atmosphere that pervaded the Germany of the 1870's and 1880's and to which Bismarck himself contributed much by willfully discrediting the motives of his opponents. Mention is made of this most serious of Bismarck's failings in several documents, but one or two of the Chancellor's more demagogic speeches or the views of such outspoken critics as Eugen Richter or August Bebel would have illustrated this point more strikingly. Statements of these latter critics might also have helped to correct the impression, which Simon conveys, no doubt unwittingly, on occasion, as if Bismarck had imposed his policies singlehandedly on the nation. What the author calls the "feudalization of the bourgeoisie," for example, was not simply the Chancellor's doing, as Simon seems to suggest, but was helped along by a highly responsive middle class.

These are of course rather minor flaws in a book that will be welcomed as a very useful text for graduate courses in German and European history. Most of the documents are excerpts of substantial length and lend themselves well to the training of students in the analysis and interpretation of the raw materials of history.

Ohio State University

ANDREAS DORPALEN

DER JÜDISCHE ABWEHRKAMPF GEGEN ANTISEMITISMUS UND NATIONALSOZIALISMUS IN DEN LETZTEN JAHREN DER WEIMARER REPUBLIK. By *Arnold Paucker*. [Hamburger Beiträge zur Zeitgeschichte, Number 4.] ([Hamburg:] Leibniz-Verlag, 1968. Pp. 311. DM 25.)

WHEN Hermann Göring testified in his own defense at Nuremberg, he referred to a propaganda war between the Nazis and the Jews during the Weimar years. The Jews, he indicated, had fought back fiercely. Arnold Paucker's book is the story of that "counterattack," its organization, content, and effect. His work is as complete a report as one might ask for: more than 130 pages of writing, followed by the texts of 69 rare documents, 50 pages of notes, 12 pages of bibliography, and name as well as subject indexes. While Paucker does not write analytically, his crisp account leaves no reader in doubt about the conclusions that must be drawn from it.

His first point is that the Jews of Germany were experienced counterpropagandists. From 1890, Jews and Germans had sat together in the *Verein zur Abwehr des Antisemitismus*. The periodical of that organization, the *Abwehr-Blätter*, was published for forty-two years. From 1893, the *Central-Verein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens* was German Jewry's principal representative in its argument with the anti-Semites. Most of the documents reproduced by Paucker come from its files. In 1896, a legal defense bureau was formed; over the years it brought hundreds of cases to the courts.

Paucker deals extensively with the tone of the Jewish campaign. It was certainly a dignified argument, full of logic, appealing to the German intellect. The Jews, it was pointed out, were scapegoats. They were being persecuted in Germany even as Germany was persecuted by the world. They would have liked to be conservatives, like the English Jews, but were being forced into liberalism by the anti-Semites. They had left the territories lost to Poland (especially Posen) because of their love of Germany. Their casualty rate in World War I (12.5 per cent of the entire Jewish population) was exactly the same as the record of Munich, and the bodies of the Jewish fallen soldiers were resting with their German comrades on foreign soil.

All these appeals were in vain, and Paucker shows in some detail how the Jewish drive failed in the end. One poster, which featured a vile quote from *Mein Kampf*, was simply taken over by the Nazis. The courts became a forum for the anti-Semitic defendants. The intellectual line had to be buttressed with a lower order of propaganda which was shipped to the Social Democrats for distribution under the Social Democratic imprint.

This was the Jewish battle for more than four decades, to January 30, 1933. There was literally enough activity to fill a book. It was all carefully considered, fully developed, and well financed. Now that we know what happened in the wake of that defense, is this not an important piece of history?

University of Vermont

RAUL HILBERG

WILHELM STAPEL ALS POLITISCHER PUBLIZIST: EIN BEITRAG ZUR GESCHICHTE DES KONSERVATIVEN NATIONALISMUS ZWISCHEN DEN BEIDEN WELTKRIEGEN. By *Heinrich Kessler*. (Nuremberg: Lorenz Spindler Verlag. 1967. Pp. 326. DM 15.)

ONCE a doctoral dissertation at the University of Erlangen, this photostated work is a painstaking analysis of the political writings of Wilhelm Stapel, a Protestant lay theologian, philosopher, literary critic, young conservative militant, and anti-Semitic pamphleteer. Stapel was a good writer; Kessler is less so. Despite earnest efforts to the contrary, Stapel emerges from this study as a pompous, humorless, politically unreliable figure.

Born in 1882, the son of a Prussian watchmaker, Stapel earned a doctorate in art history at the University of Göttingen, and in 1903 he began to work as a journalist under the influence of Friedrich Naumann. He was then a Left-wing liberal but also an aggressive nationalist. Because he believed in "deeper ethics" and in an "aesthetic-national education," Stapel joined Avenarius' *Kunstwart* in 1911, and in his articles abominated Wilhelmian histrionics and bourgeois materialism. The patriotic experience of 1914 turned Stapel into a Right Winger and a supporter of Ludendorff's annexation program. He also adopted the "Volksgedanke" as the leitmotiv of his political program. At the end of the war he became editor in chief of the Hamburg *Deutsches Volkstum*, a monthly journal owned by the nationalist trade-union of German salesclerks (DHV). From then on, he devoted his life to that journal, and to the *Hanseatische Verlagsanstalt*, equally owned by the trade-union of salesclerks. At its height, the *Deutsches Volkstum* appeared in five thousand copies, but it was undoubtedly very influen-

tial in Protestant-educated circles. In many ways it was a counterpart to the Left-wing radical *Die Weltbühne*, and Stapel was a worthy opponent of Kurt Tucholsky. His vitriolic polemics with the *Weltbühne* writers constitute the best part of Stapel's *œuvre*; the rest consists mainly of a diatribe against parliamentarism and the Weimar Republic, with repeated reference to such notions as "Volkheit," "Volkstum," and "Volkspatriotismus" (in contrast to "Staatspatriotismus"). There is also a profound craving for a *Führer* who would put an end to Jewish competition in literature and secure, among other things, *Lebensraum* for the German peasants in Eastern Europe. That Hitler never managed to fit Stapel's image of that *Führer* resulted from Stapel's vast cultural snobbishness and his individualism. Still, he supported the pro-Nazi German Christian movement after 1933 and was highly indignant over attacks directed against him by SS theoreticians. In silent opposition after 1938, Stapel was at a loss to understand why he was again slighted after the fall of Hitler. He died in 1954 a forgotten man. Stapel was a characteristic, if talented, product of German national conservatism; he should not be treated as a great political thinker.

Columbia University

ISTVAN DEAK

DESIGN FOR TOTAL WAR: ARMS AND ECONOMICS IN THE THIRD REICH. By *Berenice A. Carroll*. [Studies in European History, Number 17.] (The Hague: Mouton. 1968. Pp. 311. 42 gls.)

THIS book is scarcely a study of arms and economics in the Third *Reich*. It is, rather, a review of policy and administration regarding economic mobilization primarily from the viewpoint of one of the contending parties, General Georg Thomas' *Wehrwirtschafts- und Rüstungsamt* of the *Oberkommando der Wehrmacht*, which makes it much narrower in scope and more superficial in treatment than the title would indicate. The story she tells is worth telling, however, and it is presented with commendable clarity, despite the complex and intricate nature of the subject.

The first chapter is a general discussion of the problem of "Total War," or, more properly, the beginning of such a discussion. It is characterized by effective synthesis and persuasive analysis. The author discusses the origins of the idea of total war and the extent to which it has been realized. She also introduces, but abandons, the question of the extent to which total war is either necessary or desirable. Taken as an essay in itself, the chapter is excellent, though incomplete. It is less effective as an introduction to her book, especially since she does not return to this theme in her conclusion.

Most of the book deals with the development of the military office that grew into Thomas' "empire." The emphasis is upon Thomas' ideas and plans and the problems he encountered in trying to translate them into reality. It therefore illuminates the economic policy of the *Reich* and of Hitler and Göring from one corner of the economic and military edifice. With the fall of Thomas, the pace of the narrative steps up vigorously, and the post-Thomas phase of the war is dealt with in one brief chapter, which seems rather short shrift for the greater part of the war years, in view of her title.

The central portion of the book is based on very solid and impressive research in primary source materials, as is true, to a lesser extent, with regard to the last chapter. The author has also shown a grasp of the secondary literature relative to her subject and has, in places, criticized the work of such other scholars as Franz Neumann, Alan Milward, and Burton Klein perceptively and persuasively. She is clearly at home in the jungle of the Third *Reich*'s economic bureaucracy, although not everyone will accept all of her judgments or evaluations concerning programs, personalities, and alternatives.

A major criticism is that the book deals far more with economic administration than with economics and far more with both than with arms. It tends to skip along the surface of the problems of armament policy and performance and ignores crucial questions, both of principle and execution. Insufficient consideration is given to the question of what was the best solution to the *Reich*'s economic administrative problems and to Hitler's reasons for the policy he adopted. No analysis of the basic economic and armament problems of the *Reich* is given in clear and concrete terms, as opposed to a general discussion of struggles over "pie splitting." Which were more important, aircraft, tanks, or submarines? Should priority go to radios or radar guidance and fire control systems? Should oil go to submarines or fighter aircraft? Is quality or quantity more important under World War II conditions? Some key personalities are ignored completely, while others are slighted. Speer's contribution in terms of simplification of armament manufacturing techniques and the attempt to gain maximum value from existing materials (as in the case of the *Sturmgewehr* program) is passed over in silence.

In general, military matters are slighted, and there is no connection indicated among strategy, tactics, and arms production. Carroll also assumes that superior production means automatic victory, a concept we have triumphantly disproved in Korea and, more recently, in Vietnam.

This book is valuable for what it is, as opposed to what it claims to be, and its shortcomings seem to stem from an attempt to broaden its appeal and to expand a sound dissertation for publication purposes. In essence, Carroll has given us a valuable account of one aspect of the administrative and economic struggle within Germany in the Third *Reich*.

University of Massachusetts

HAROLD J. GORDON, JR.

THE CONSPIRACY AGAINST HITLER IN THE TWILIGHT WAR. By
Harold C. Deutsch. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1968. Pp.
x, 394. \$8.95.)

In recent years the literature about the German resistance against Hitler has become very voluminous indeed, especially in Germany. It may safely be predicted that Professor Deutsch's volume will stand out in this increasingly massive array both because of the new information that it brings and because of the thoughtful and revealing way in which the new is confronted and integrated with the previously known. The focus is on the period from September 1939 to May 1940, the period when the conspiracy within Germany seemed about to strike several times and when, for the only time during the history of the Third *Reich*, there was a

serious and sustained contact between the opposition inside Germany and the government of Great Britain through Pius XII as intermediary.

The conspiratorial nature of the subject, the destruction of important relevant archives in Germany, and the apparent culling of the British Foreign Office documentation to protect the Vatican when an invasion of England seemed likely have all reduced the available evidence. It is, therefore, entirely appropriate that Deutsch should devote much more space and attention to the evaluation and discussion of conflicting oral testimony than one might ordinarily welcome in a monograph. This is one case where such analysis of the evidence is quite appropriate. In the process the issues and personalities become clearer, and, where there is still doubt, at least the boundaries of the unknown are defined.

Deutsch's presentation is especially revealing on three counts. First, we get a better picture than ever before of the development and fading of opposition to Hitler among the German military in the fall of 1939. The personalities of Generals Brauchitsch and Halder and their role in the situation are made understandable, though the almost unbelievable lack of backbone, courage, and decency in Brauchitsch is assumed rather than discussed. Second, the relationship of internal planning to foreign contacts by the opposition is clarified by the detailed account of the negotiations through the Vatican with the British government. In this the generally reasonable attitude of the latter comes through in spite of the author's rather skeptical evaluation of both Chamberlain and Halifax. This would have been even more obvious if attention had been paid to the justified skepticism of the British leaders: they had been told by the opposition in 1938 that if they only stood firm and insisted that they intended to do so, the opposition would overthrow the regime. When the British government followed precisely this course in 1939, Hitler went to war unhampered by any internal resistance; in all fairness Deutsch might have cited the expressions of joy over the invasion of Poland from the papers of General Wagner that figure importantly in subsequent events of a very different kind.

The third area of major new insights is the very convincing explanation of the relationship between resistance inside Germany and the warning first to the Scandinavian countries and later to Holland and Belgium about the forthcoming German invasion from both Colonel Hans Oster of the opposition and the Vatican. One can see clearly how no one could expect the Western Powers ever to credit anyone in Germany when those who claimed to speak for a decent people simultaneously participated in the preparation of unprovoked attacks on neutrals. Similarly, Pius XII, after vouching for the seriousness of the Germans for whom he contacted the British, could hardly be expected to allow such actions to be interpreted subsequently as a device to lull the forthcoming victims of Axis strategy.

All of these points combine to emphasize the fact grasped by some in Germany at the time and heavily emphasized by Deutsch that the winter of 1939-1940 was perhaps the most promising time for any change in Germany leading to a negotiated settlement of the war. It is worth noting that the first country in World War II to be informed that it must surrender unconditionally was Belgium.

Not all readers will be convinced by Deutsch's effort to rehabilitate German State Secretary Ernst von Weizsäcker, but even the skeptics, like myself, will be

impressed. Many other figures in the drama will be re-evaluated as a result of the information presented in this book. Two broad questions remain untouched. The assumption that only the generals could act is surely not quite accurate; no foreign tanks would have protected Hitler against an aroused populace as happened in Berlin in June 1953 and Budapest in October 1956. If there was no alternative to a military *coup*, this is a judgment, not a natural phenomenon. In the second place, is there not some deeper significance to the paradox that after the German generals indicated that they could not bear to have Field Marshal Blomberg as Minister of War because of the background of his wife, they were perfectly willing to accept Brauchitsch as commander in chief of the army in spite of the fact that the shady circumstances of his divorce and remarriage made it impossible for him to stand up to Hitler?

In his work Deutsch relied heavily on the diaries of Helmuth Groscurth, a key figure in the conspiracies against Hitler. The long-awaited edition of this source by Deutsch and Helmut Krausnick should make an excellent complement to this book; one can only hope that a German publisher might attain the indexing standards exhibited here. The two books will, together, be a fitting memorial to the bravery of the few and the shame of the many.

University of Michigan

GERHARD L. WEINBERG

DAS GESANDTSCHAFTSWESEN OSTMITTELEUROPAS IN DER FRÜHEN NEUZEIT: BEITRÄGE ZUR GESCHICHTE DER DIPLOMATIE IN DER ERSTEN HÄLFTE DES SECHZEHNTEHnten JAHRHUNDERTS NACH DEN AUFZEICHNUNGEN DES FREIHERRN SIGMUND VON HERBERSTEIN. By Bertold Picard. [Wiener Archiv für Geschichte des Slawentums und Osteuropas: Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für osteuropäische Geschichte und Südostforschung der Universität Wien, Number 6.] (Vienna: Hermann Böhlau Nachf. 1967. Pp. 192. DM 24.)

THE development of modern diplomacy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries has, during the last few decades, received increasing attention in a considerable number of articles and in a few books in various languages. Most of them concentrated on one state and its diplomatic activities, as, for example, reports on diplomatic travels in the service of King George of Poděbrad, presented in a small volume introduced by Urbánek (*Ve službách Jiříka krále* [1940]); or in Willy Andreas' *Staatskunst und Diplomatie der Venezianer* (1943). Less limited in scope was Garrett Mattingly's little masterwork *Renaissance Diplomacy* (1955). Now the *Institut für osteuropäische Geschichte* of the University of Vienna has published a useful addition on the diplomacy of East Central Europe in the early sixteenth century.

Dr. Picard's book is concentrated on one famous figure: the Austrian Baron Sigmund of Herberstein. He was, as is well known, the most distinguished Austrian diplomat throughout the greater part of the rule of Ferdinand I. He lived long enough (1486-1566) to gain enormous experience, and his memoirs as well as his report on the Empire of Muscovy have become sources of first-class value.

Picard, however, does not limit himself to a study of Herberstein as the most famous individual diplomat of his region and time; he tries to use him essen-

tially as a prominent yet also typical representative of his profession, mainly by adding to Herberstein's own reports those of others and thereby building up a picture of the system of diplomatic work and the structure of embassies on a comparative basis. It is not an easy task, yet Picard has succeeded remarkably well, and the reader gains a rich, colorful, and, at the same time, convincing picture of this important field of sixteenth-century foreign policy, especially between the Habsburg ruler and the countries of the East, Poland and Muscovy, and most remarkably also between Ferdinand and the Ottoman Empire, with the issue of divided Hungary and Transylvania playing a role of considerable significance.

Herberstein's diplomatic activity, like that of several of his colleagues, was not limited to his personal travels and missions, even though it was just such travels and visits that, like those to Muscovy, made his contributions especially valuable for his King as well as for the historiography of later times. While Herberstein was not exactly unique, he was surely much better than most of the traveling ambassadors of his time; he established what became a model of this type of statesmanship. For this reason Picard did well in using this fascinating historical figure as the prototype of this rapidly developing profession. Picard's book is a most valuable contribution to a field that, it is to be hoped, will soon gain even more attention.

University of Calgary

FREDERICK G. HEYMANN

GEORG JOACHIM RHETIKUS, 1514-1574: EINE BIO-BIBLIOGRAPHIE.

Volume I, HUMANIST UND WEGBEREITER DER MODERNEN NATURWISSENSCHAFTEN; Volume II, QUELLEN UND BIBLIOGRAPHIE. By *Karl Heinz Burmeister*. (Wiesbaden: Guido Pressler Verlag. 1967; 1968. Pp. xi, 206; ix, 100. DM 140 the set.)

FIVE years ago Karl Heinz Burmeister put scholars in his debt with a pioneering biographical essay on Sebastian Münster, the Hebraist and cosmographer (*Sebastian Münster: Versuch eines biographischen Gesamtbildes* [1963]). By means of meticulous archival and exegetical investigation, Burmeister was able to correct dozens of errors and misconceptions about Münster and to provide the foundation for a proper scholarly biography and interpretation.

He has now done it again for the mathematician, astronomer, and Copernican disciple, Joachim Rheticus, a man whose historical significance as the author of the *narratio prima* has long been recognized, but whose career and personality had never been recalled from the limbo of the epigoni. Born in 1514 to an interesting German-Italian heritage in the ancient region of Rhaetia (hence, Rheticus; his family name was Iserin), he studied philology in Zurich and then was apprenticed to the well-known physician Achilles Gasser. Mathematical studies at Wittenberg, intended to prepare him for advanced work in medicine, led instead to his appointment to a chair in mathematics. At Wittenberg Rheticus taught the introductory courses in arithmetic and geometry and lectured on physics and optics. He cultivated an active circle of scholars and poets. Mathematics and astronomy became his passion. He traveled to Nuremberg, Ingolstadt, and Tübingen for conferences and shoptalk. Having learned of Copernicus' work, and being convinced that no one else could give him an authoritative introduction to it, he

journeyed to Frauenburg and spent two and a half fruitful years with the master. The *narratio prima*, an open letter to his friend the Nuremberg mathematician and geographer Johann Schöner (1540), was the result of his successful attempt to comprehend Copernicus' system, of which he remained a convinced and loyal advocate. Back at his university he argued for Copernicus against the Wittenberg orthodoxy. The year 1542 saw him in Nuremberg to help supervise the printing of the *de revolutionibus*, though he left before its completion to take up a professorship in Leipzig. He traveled in Italy and Switzerland, undertook a prolific publication program of calendars, prognostications, and ephemerides, and lectured to a devoted and growing group of students.

In 1551 misfortune struck. Apprehended in a homosexual affair with the son of a local merchant, Rheticus fled from Leipzig to escape the consequences of conviction (death by burning, according to the prevailing law). He went to Prague and Vienna and then settled in Cracow for the remaining twenty years of his life, practicing medicine and conducting chemical experiments on the model of the man who, apart from Copernicus, had influenced him most deeply: Paracelsus. He also advanced the manuscript of what he hoped would be a fundamental mathematical work (completed and published by his pupil Valentin Otho in 1596). He died while on a visit to Hungary in 1574.

Burmeister intended not to write a fully rounded biography, but to establish the facts of the life of this important and, in many ways, typical Renaissance figure. Sixteenth-century specialists and historians of science will be grateful to him, for it is now possible to ascertain Rheticus' place in the development of mathematics and astronomy and his role in the spread of the Copernican idea. Burmeister is explicit on the details of Rheticus' career; he also provides a one-hundred-page companion volume containing an interesting discussion of source problems and excellent bibliographies of works by and about Rheticus, letters, dedications, remarks by contemporaries, and so on. If I have a criticism, it is that Burmeister tends to be apologetic and to explain too much where his subject's actions deviate from twentieth-century notions, especially Rheticus' alchemical and astrological interests and his homosexuality. This strikes me as provincial. I cannot judge whether the available material permits a more comprehensive reconstruction of Rheticus' mind than Burmeister attempts. If Rheticus did complete his great book on natural philosophy, it has been lost. The book might have revealed him as another Bruno, or it might not; we cannot say. What we can say is that Rheticus had a searching and perceptive intellect and that he lived his life in response to the requirements of his mind. Burmeister's study teaches us much about this interesting figure, and our knowledge of the man enriches our understanding of the period.

Indiana University

GERALD STRAUSS

JOSEPH II. By *Paul P. Bernard*. [Twayne's Rulers and Statesmen of the World Series, Number 5.] (New York: Twayne Publishers. 1968. Pp. 155. \$4.95.)

A FULL biography of the fascinating and complex Emperor Joseph II would, as Professor Bernard admits, take several volumes. The mass of correspondence and anecdotes makes it all too tempting, moreover, to dwell on incidentals without

analyzing the premises from which Joseph proceeded or the conditions under which he operated. The author has undertaken the not so simple task of writing a simple study of Joseph and these premises and conditions. Within his permitted framework he has succeeded in achieving compactness and retaining scholarliness. The work is based on standard and also recent publications rather than original sources. Probably the need to synthesize meant cutting down on colorful quotes. Bernard's literary portrait is not impressionistic (unfortunately the only actual portrait is on the quickly discarded flap); his narrative is reasoned and factual; his style, despite inconsistencies, is clear and pleasant.

In describing young Joseph's superficiality and arrogance, Bernard lets the reader share Maria Theresa's concerns for the future, both as mother and monarch. Despite a deep mutual affection, the relationship between the sympathetically viewed Empress and her impatient son was often strained, and this situation was exploited by the peculiar State Chancellor, Prince Kaunitz, whose cleverness sometimes courted miscalculation. As sole ruler after his mother's death, Joseph is seen not as an idealistic reformer but as a rather cold and autocratic efficiency expert. His utilitarianism kept him from being "liberal"; he did not emancipate or tolerate for its own sake; he was no real friend of higher education; he was not even truly anticlerical. Beset by paradoxes, the begrudging admirer of Frederick the Great utterly failed to create an efficient army, and, rational and pragmatic as he was, Joseph failed to perceive that what is rational is not always pragmatic. Yet one can surely admire his ethical concept of work, his selflessness, and his dedication to a bold program. But Austria was not ready for such a program, which Joseph compromised with "repeated and drearily unsuccessful ventures into military and foreign fields." The ultimate paradox, Bernard thinks, is that, had he really succeeded, Joseph might have created the conditions that would have made a French Revolution possible in Austria.

The book's value is enhanced by the fact that the recent "new and completely revised" edition of Saul Padover's *The Revolutionary Emperor: Joseph II of Austria* is anything but that; the opportunity to update thoroughly an interesting but faulty book—long the only study available in English—was passed over; the amended bibliography includes Padover's subsequent but marginal publications while ignoring a whole series of new works by specialists. Bernard's short biography thus will stand as the only balanced account available to those not wishing to go into more extensive German material.

University of Tennessee

ARTHUR G. HAAS

THE JEWS OF AUSTRIA: ESSAYS ON THEIR LIFE, HISTORY AND DESTRUCTION. Edited by *Josef Fraenkel*. (London: Vallentine, Mitchell. 1967. Pp. xv, 584. 63s.)

THE essays presented here deal with different aspects of Jewish history within the Habsburg monarchy and the First and Second Austrian Republics. The contributions to this volume vary greatly in quality and format, as might be expected. Some are recollections; others are formal historical analyses; still others consist of literary contributions.

Grunberger shows how the Jews, sensing liberation in the spring of 1848, flocked to participate in the public life of the Habsburg monarchy. Despite the failure of revolution one of the permanent legacies of 1848 was the Jewish liberal press as typified by the *Neue Freie Presse* and the *Wiener Tagblatt*. The traumatic experience of covering the Dreyfus trial for this newspaper led Theodor Herzl to Zionism in the 1890's. One of the most useful aspects of Mr. Grunberger's essay is that it demonstrates how closely liberalism in Austria-Hungary was tied to the emancipated Jewish community in Vienna. This excellent essay also points up something that had more tragic implications, namely, the isolation of this liberalism and its proponents from the nationalistic and irrational undercurrents that were agitating the Habsburg monarchy. In a sense this essay complements Peter Pulzer's study of the rise of political anti-Semitism in Germany and Austria.

I found Martin Freud's discussion of his father's role as a Jew to be one of the most interesting contributions in this volume. Freud points out, for example, that his father's work, although hated and banned by the Nazis, was secretly distributed among German libraries after 1933. These libraries were only too glad to get the volumes of Freud's collected works that had been pilfered from his publisher. Freud felt deeply that he was a secular Jew in the Jewish community. He considered himself a "fighting Jew," and certainly his ties with Jewish lodges reinforced his sense of belonging to a cohesive group. This was important for, as he himself once put it, he was also fighting as a minority against the considered opinion of the medical profession.

Robert Schwarz's excellent essay on anti-Semitism within Austrian social democracy greatly illuminates the problem of Leftist anti-Semitism in Austria. After the abortive revolt of February 1934 there was a re-evaluation of the leadership of the SPÖ. Many of the upper echelon leaders of the SPÖ had been of Jewish origin. The failure of the revolt discredited them, especially since many fled to Prague after its suppression. Many Austrian Socialists mouthed the current official anti-Semitic line during the years 1938 to 1945. Schwarz does not talk about Karl Renner in this context, but he would be an interesting object for analysis. Renner approved of the *Anschluss* after March 1938. One wonders whether this former and future Social Democrat also approved of Hitler's anti-Semitism which was, after all, largely a legacy of a native Austrian tradition. Despite the extermination or dispersion of the overwhelming number of Austrian Jews after 1938, traditional forms of so-called "respectable" anti-Semitism appeared in Austria after World War II. Such anti-Semitism is not lacking in the SPÖ, especially in rural areas, according to interviews conducted by Schwarz. There was, for example, a difference in SPÖ propaganda after 1945. Covert or even overt anti-Semitism was permitted in party organs in the countryside, while strong anti-Nazism was the official line of the press in Vienna. One can only judge, which Schwarz by the way does not, that the exile of much of the intellectual Jewish leadership of the SPÖ after February of 1934 created a second echelon of trade-union leaders in the SPÖ. The rise of these less educated and more pragmatically oriented trade-unionists paralleled a weakening of the socialist forces in the face of the Rightist and National Socialist threat. Was this not also the lesson of the revisionist triumph in the SPD?

Massachusetts Institute of Technology

ROBERT HERZSTEIN

SPRAWA PRZYŁĄCZENIA AUSTRII DO NIEMIEC PO I WOJNIE ŚWIATOWEJ (1918-1922) [The Problem of the Incorporation of Austria into the German *Reich* after World War I (1918-1922)]. By Jerzy Kozeński. [Studium Niemcoznawcze Instytutu Zachodniego, Number 13.] (Poznań: Instytut Zachodni. 1967. Pp. 320. Zł. 60.)

NATURALLY enough, Polish historians are especially interested in German history, particularly of the recent period. Unfortunately much of their work is undistinguished, and this study is no exception. Kozeński confined his archival research to the *Deutsches Zentralarchiv* in Potsdam. He did not see the important collections of documents in Western Germany and Austria. Even though he provides some new information on the Austro-German negotiations in Berlin resulting in the secret protocol of March 2, 1919 (Appendix A), and on the work of the Austro-German commissions to implement that protocol, the subject requires much more extensive research in available archives.

About three-fourths of the book is devoted to the *Anschluss* question in the period from the armistice (November 1918) to the Treaty of St. Germain (September 1919), which imposed on Austria the obligation to maintain its independence. The three years subsequent to the Geneva Protocols of October 4, 1922, receive a perfunctory treatment only in the last two chapters.

Kozeński stresses the importance of other obstacles on the road to the realization of the *Anschluss* in 1919 besides the injunction by the Allied Powers. While in the woeful hour of defeat and disintegration the dejected Austrians saw salvation solely in union with Germany, such a union appeared far less important to the Germans and hence was overshadowed by other issues. In the cold and hungry winter of 1918-1919 some Germans even regarded union with ruined Austria as a liability. No German political parties took a clear stand on this question, and there was considerable reluctance to make economic sacrifices for Austria. The secret protocol of March 2 did not meet the main Austrian demands; nor did the Austro-German commissions make much progress. Consequently, a disposition appeared in Austria to abandon the *Anschluss* for some economic aid from the *Entente* and even to join a Danubian federation. The decision of the Paris Peace Conference to leave the Sudetenland, in which Germany was particularly interested, to Czechoslovakia made the *Anschluss* even less attractive to the Germans since without that industrial province Austria became even more of an economic liability. A summary of the argument is provided in English, and there is also a fifteen-page bibliography.

University of Georgia

ZYGMUNT J. GASIOROWSKI

IL REGNO DI NAPOLI NEI SECOLI XVI E XVII. Volume I, ECONOMIA E SOCIETÀ. By Francesco Caracciolo. [Università degli Studi di Messina, Facoltà di Magistero. Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto di Storia "Vittorio de Caprariis," Number 1.] (Rome: Libreria P. Tombolini & C. 1966. Pp. 410. L. 4,500.)

RECENT studies by Giuseppe Galasso, Rosario Villari, and Giuseppe Coniglio have already thoroughly undermined Benedetto Croce's old thesis about the

progressive character of the Spanish period in the history of Naples. Francesco Caracciolo now buries the thesis once and for all beneath a mass of statistics that he has derived from extensive research in Simancas as well as in several cities of the former kingdom and that he has analyzed according to the latest economic-historical methods of Fernand Braudel and Charles Verlinden.

The kingdom of Naples did, it is true, experience an economic "revolution" very similar to the one described by Earl Hamilton in Spain. Prices rose fourfold during the century. Wages rose, too, although the table on page seventy-five (one of many) shows that when calculated in terms of grain and oil instead of silver, they actually fell by a ratio of as much as 625 to 290. Population increased by 112 per cent (the author adds many new sources of information to those given in Beloch). The production of raw silk in Calabria and of grain, finished cloth, and iron in other provinces more than doubled, and the value of exports in these commodities far surpassed that of imported manufactured goods and luxuries well into the seventeenth century. Old credit techniques were refined. Genoese merchant-bankers made available considerable supplies of capital. And when the private banks fell prey to the general European crisis of the 1580's, their place was taken by the more conservative, but also more solid, pious institutions described by Carlo di Somma in *Il Banco dello Spirito Santo* (1960), which, by the way, is about the only relevant monograph not discussed in the very thorough bibliographical footnotes.

Yet in Naples this "revolution" had effects far more deleterious than it did elsewhere in Europe. It drove many of the nobles into insolvency, but it left those who remained on the land fully in control. It failed to engender either a capitalist manufacturing class or a capitalistic spirit: even the resident Genoese eventually joined the chase after feudal domains. And it pushed urban plebeians and rural laborers even further into poverty and desperation. The sole beneficiaries were the barons; and the barons, far from being "civilized" by contact with the viceregal court, became ever more ruthless in tyrannizing over their subjects. Hence the "long" sixteenth century was an era of transition, not from feudalism to capitalism, but from one form of feudalism to another form far more retrogressive than the first.

The fault, according to Caracciolo, lay not with the Genoese or the Neapolitans (in this he agrees with the philosopher Tommaso Campanella), but with the Spanish administration. The inordinate extent of its foreign military commitments and the ever-shrinking productivity of its American silver mines led it to do to Naples what it had already done to Castile: milk it of every available cent. By selling charters at exorbitant prices and then tearing them up as soon as a wealthy baron appeared with a bid, it ruined the communes, which might otherwise have provided it with strong support. By negotiating attractive loans (its debt quadrupled from 1600 to 1640) and then declaring bankruptcy, it prevented the investment of capital in productive enterprises. By alienating royal domains, tax revenues, offices, and law courts, it reduced public authority to little more than a façade. By 1679 the energetic efforts of the Viceroy Toledo to turn the disjointed kingdom into a state of law had been completely abandoned. The only element in society that could promise some way out of the chaos, the professional and forensic class of the capital, was still devoid of effective

power. How it gained power in the following century, and how it used the power to add a somewhat less dismal chapter to this sad story, is a subject the author leaves to Franco Venturi, Nicola Badaloni, Sergio Bertelli, and the other students of the Age of Enlightenment.

University of Chicago

ERIC COCHRANE

L'UNIFICAZIONE ITALIANA VISTA DAI DIPLOMATICI STATUNITENSIS. Volume III (1853-1861). Edited by *Howard R. Marraro*. [Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano, Biblioteca Scientifica. Series 2, Fonti. Volume LVII.] (Rome: the Istituto. 1967. Pp. 506.)

THIS latest volume in Professor Marraro's series of dispatches from Turin covers the years from the emergence of Cavour to the formation of the kingdom of Italy and does so through the eyes of one man, John Moncure Daniel of Virginia, giving the reader an uninterrupted account of events. While designed primarily for students of Italian history, this and preceding volumes also contribute to the study of American political attitudes.

Daniel, a prominent editor, was known for his "slashing literary style" and his "superb journalistic insight." Certainly his reports are bold and make splendid reading; as to insight, he was almost always wrong. Daniel was sure Sardinia would stay out of the Crimean War; he then informed Washington that the outcome of the war had been a triumph for Austria and a disaster for Cavour. After Villafranca he saw Napoleon III as master of the situation and Cavour as a mere "politician" who was the puppet of French policy. He was certain Garibaldi's expedition would sweep all before it and end in an attack on Austria. Then, in one of his last dispatches, he wrote: "Cavour's policy was triumphed on all fronts."

On the issue of Cavour's relations with Garibaldi, Daniel's views are interesting as a reflection of American antirepublicanism. He described Garibaldi as a dangerous man who had become the tool of the Mazzinian "clique." Daniel was a defender of slavery, and he later fought for the Confederacy. While his response to European politics was often conditioned by his opinion on purely American problems, his distrust of the Mazzinians is not essentially different from that of his predecessors in the Turin post, Nathaniel Niles and William Kinney, who were both northerners. All three viewed liberty not as an outgrowth of revolutionary activity but as a result of a society's preparation for its enjoyment. All three praised the Piedmontese not so much for their constitutional freedoms as for their sense of discipline. In the midst of the "Young America" movement described by Merle Curti (*AHR*, XXXII [Oct. 1926], 34-55) and its flirtation with European revolutionaries, these United States representatives abroad felt that republicanism was an American phenomenon that was not likely to work in a European setting.

Scholars interested in Italian-American ties during the era of the *Risorgimento* owe a great debt to Marraro's many publications in this area and may anticipate another volume of Turin dispatches for the years 1861-1871. Meanwhile the field largely developed by Marraro is attracting others, such as Robert W. Bohl

("I documenti diplomatici statunitensi sulla questione veneta," *Rassegna storica del Risorgimento*, LIII [Oct.-Dec. 1966], 615-21).

University of Minnesota

JOHN THAYER

A STUDY IN BALKAN CIVILIZATION. By *Traian Stoianovich*. [Borzoj Studies in History.] (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1967. Pp. x, 215, vi. \$2.25.)

THIS interdisciplinary interpretation of Balkan civilization draws on the school of history developed in the Sixth Section of the *École Pratique des Hautes Études* under the leadership of Fernand Braudel. In geographic area it is concerned primarily with the peoples inhabiting the countries known today as Yugoslavia, Rumania, Bulgaria, and Greece.

The interpretation embraces such concepts as earth culture and biotechnics and social biology, as well as the more conventional categories of technology, society, economy, and personality and culture. Much of the treatment is directed to the thousand-year period that may for lack of a better term be characterized as traditional society, but the modern era also receives its due. Thus, a treatment of the traditional value orientations of shame-honor, guilt-benevolence, and violence-courage is followed in a later chapter by an analysis of the modern Balkan personality.

This is a large order for a book of only two-hundred pages, but in significant measure the objectives of Professor Stoianovich have been achieved. He has brought together information from a wide range of sources bearing on his various categories. He is at his best in treating the wealth of material relating to geography, resources, anthropology, and folklore. Such material in other treatments is often no more than an accumulation of miscellaneous information, but Stoianovich molds it into an integrated description of a regional personality. Drawing as he does on Braudel's interpretation of the Mediterranean world in the sixteenth century and on his own work on the Balkan economy in the early modern period, he presents a well-balanced picture of this region on the eve of the emancipation from Ottoman rule.

This interpretation has serious shortcomings, however, in its treatment of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. There was not, in any significant sense, much change in many aspects of Balkan civilization during the first thousand years when it was dominated by a village culture that was only gradually modified as a result of a developing commerce, and Stoianovich's method is well suited to this relatively static interaction. The neglect of the modern era is not deliberate, for each of the principal chapters is brought up to the 1960's. The problem seems rather to be that the author's method incorporates no principle of change, and it therefore offers no adequate interpretation of the momentous developments of the past century or two. What is the relationship between the historically evolved institutions that he describes and the problems faced by modern societies? This is a central question to which the author does not provide an adequate answer.

Princeton University

CYRIL E. BLACK

WĄTKI HISTORYCZNE W PODANIACH O POCZĄTKACH POLSKI [Historical Elements in the Legends about the Origins of Poland]. By *Kazimierz Ślaski*. [Poznańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk, Wydział Historii i Nauk Społecznych. Prace Komisji Historycznej, Volume XXIV, Number 1.] (Poznań: Praca Wydana z Zasiłku Polskiej Akademii Nauk. 1968. Pp. 98. Zł. 22.)

MOŻNOWŁADZTWO MAŁOPOLSKIE W XIV I W PIERWSZEJ POŁOWIE XV WIEKU: STUDIUM Z DZIEJÓW ROZWOJU WIELKIEJ WŁASNOŚCI ZIEMSKIEJ [Magnates of Little Poland in the 14th and 15th Centuries: A Study in the History of the Development of Large Landed Properties]. By *Stanisław Gawęda*. [Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Number 141. Prace Historyczne, Number 18.] (Cracow: Nakładem Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. 1966. Pp. 166. Zł. 26.)

IN a careful and judicious study of historical elements in several major legends about the prehistory of Poland, Kazimierz Ślaski has provided a helpful introduction to one of the most controversial topics in recent Polish historiography: that of the origins of Poland. He begins with a brief survey of the problem and a discourse upon previous researches and the *état présent* of scholarship. Next he turns in more detail to the legendary cycles of Little Poland, Greater Poland, and Pomerania, all of which have been transmitted to us by medieval chroniclers. The most important in the first group are those concerning Krak (the traditional founder of Cracow) and Wanda, and Walgierz of Tyniec and Wisław of Wiślica. Ślaski argues that it is possible to see in them imperfect reflections of early Slavic conflict with both Bavarian and Frank as well as internal conflict among the tribes of the Wiślanie. From Greater Poland come data concerning the structure and political organization of Polish tribes before their appearance in West European documents of the tenth century. In the story of Popiel and Piast, particularly, important information suggests the early emergence of a comparatively well-developed state. The Pomeranian legend concerning Prince Wizymir, conqueror of the Danes, is also analyzed briefly since it suggests the early presence of Slavic settlements on the Baltic coast. In general, the author concludes, as have previous Polish scholars though in less convincing detail, that there is a high degree of historical reality reflected in these sources. They are, moreover, both in their content and in the way they were treated by later writers, an important source for an understanding of the sense of community enjoyed by the early Polish state. Ślaski has made good use of the pioneering work of Lehr-Splawiński, Tymieniecki, Łowmiański, and Labuda, and his bibliography is generally up to date.

The somewhat longer study by Gawęda deals with the origins of a phenomenon long familiar to students of early modern Polish history: the divisive particularism and political dominance of the magnates of Little Poland. He concludes, upon close examination of both archival and printed evidence, that this development begins with the reigns of the last two Piast rulers of Poland, Władysław Łokietek and Casimir the Great, who died in 1370. The individuals upon whom they relied for support (one might differ on the extent to which they were limited to Little Poland) increasingly identified their own interests

with those of the monarchy. In return they were endowed with both lands and political power, thus giving rise to a "new aristocracy" wholly dependent upon the royal will. Because Gawęda has limited his study to this very specific problem, he shows more clearly than most previous scholars one of the important factors underlying the growth of a strong centralized monarchy in this period. Two major developments during the following century substantially altered this picture: two failures of the ruling dynasty and the consolidation of oligarchic power and position. Because they had so increased their landholdings and become in many instances closely connected with the Church, they became largely independent of royal preferment. With the accession of Louis of Anjou and the later establishment of the Jagiellonians, the magnates were able to negotiate a circumscription of the extent and nature of royal power. Though briefly thwarted in the later fifteenth century, they soon came to represent a community of interests that demanded, and received, an excessive share of government. Gawęda does not alter the basic picture sketched by many scholars before him, but by his careful researches he has added tones and shadings that greatly enrich and deepen our understanding of this process. The brief English summary is helpful, but is marred by many errata and some nearly unintelligible constructions.

Purdue University

PAUL W. KNOLL

POLITICS AND STATECRAFT IN THE KINGDOM OF GREECE, 1833-1843. By *John Anthony Petropulos*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1968. Pp. xix, 646. \$17.50.)

THIS splendid volume is based on the author's doctoral dissertation. Professor Petropulos has skillfully combined unpublished sources in Greece, France, England, Austria, and Germany with a mass of published materials to produce not only a first-rate historical study, but one that breaks new ground in a very significant way.

The author, filling a gap that existed previously in Greek historiography, has carefully studied the so-called "Russian," "English," and "French" political parties that formed in Greece after the revolution of 1821 against the Ottoman Empire. In his book he treats them in two major parts: the first, a long introduction, is an analysis of the origins and development of the parties until the accession in 1833 of the first King of modern Greece, the Bavarian-born Otho; the second, which makes up most of the book, is an account of the parties from 1833 to 1843 when Otho was forced by popular revolt to give up absolutist rule and to grant Greece a constitution. Within this framework Petropulos describes both the history of the parties and also their critical importance in the development of the institutions of the Greek kingdom at the very moment when the country was emerging from centuries of Ottoman rule.

In one way this book is too modestly titled. The dates 1833-1843 fail to indicate that the author in his introductory coverage of the years before 1833 has also made some contributions to the historiography of modern Greece. Thus, for example, his analysis of the political situation of the Greeks under Turkish domination is a short but penetrating account of an era that has been too little consid-

ered in English-language sources. So too, the author's vignettes of pre-1833 Greek political figures will assist American students who do not know Greek.

The entire work is characterized by a thorough attention to bibliography and to extensive citations in the footnotes. Indeed, the footnotes are often so long that the continuity of the text is broken. The casual reader may find this annoying, but the specialist will surely be pleased with the extensive references for further research. In the same way the selected bibliography, which covers sixty-nine pages of the volume, is so well compiled and annotated that it can serve generally, quite apart from the topic of the book, as a fine introduction to the historiography of the early years of King Otho's reign.

All told, this book has great merit, is a credit to its author, and will assuredly remain the standard account for many years to come.

Tufts University

GEORGE J. MARCOPOULOS

Η ΚΡΗΤΙΚΗ ΕΠΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΣ 1866-1869. ΕΚΘΕΣΕΙΣ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΚΡΗΤΗ ΠΡΟΞΕΝΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΕΛΛΑΔΟΣ [The Cretan Insurrection 1866-1869. Reports of the Greek Envoys in Crete]. Edited by *Eleutherios Prevelakis* and *Vasiliki Plagianakos-Mpekariis*. Α' ΑΠΡΙΛΙΟΣ 1866-ΙΟΥΛΙΟΣ 1867 [Volume I, April 1866-July 1867]. Έκδίδεται επί τη έκατοστή έπετείω της επαναστάσεως υπό του Κέντρου Έρεύνης της Ιστορίας του Νεωτέρου Έλληνισμού της Ακαδημίας Αθηνών. [Μνημεία της Έλληνικής Ιστορίας, Volume VI, Part I.] (Athens: the Akademia. 1967. Pp. 420.)

THE Cretan desire for incorporation into the recently established Greek state was a primary factor in the outbreak of the Cretan insurrection of 1866-1869. An initially peaceful movement for reform and redress of grievances, followed by a declaration of the union of Crete with Greece, suddenly turned into a violent upheaval and terminated Greco-Turkish relations in 1868. The one-hundredth anniversary of the 1866 insurrection occasioned the publication of this volume by the Research Center for the Study of Modern Greek History of the Academy of Athens under the editorship of its director, Mr. Eleutherios Prevelakis, and his collaborator, Mrs. Vasiliki Plagianakos-Mpekariis. The present work is Volume VI, Part One, in the series "Monuments of Greek History" and covers the first phase of the Cretan insurrection, 1866-1867; Volume VI, Part Two, covering the final phase of the revolution, is now in preparation.

The editors have brought together into an accessible unit Greek archival material relating to the Cretan rebellion. Most of the work consists of 178 reports written by the Greek envoys in Crete; Nicholas Sakopoulos, Ioannis Mparouksakis, and Georgios Kalokairinos were consular agents in Chanea, Herakleion, and Rethymnon, respectively. The first report was written on April 4, 1866, and the last report included is dated July 31, 1867. The volume includes a prologue outlining the scope and objectives of the editors, an introduction, and a calendar of the period 1866-1868, which is based on the Julian year. There are brief editorial footnotes or comments, and the reports are arranged chronologically.

Of the 178 reports, 97 were written by Sakopoulos whose post at Chanea was an important center for collecting information. Because of his legal training,

Sakopoulos made diplomatic observations concerning the prevailing revolutionary climate that are admirably systematic; all three consuls used caution in evaluating their sources of information.

The reports are based on diverse sources ranging from Cretan revolutionaries to conversations with local Turkish leaders, consular representatives of foreign powers, and foreign military and naval officers. The actual contents are of a miscellaneous nature and refer to many aspects of the Cretan revolution. One finds letters relating to the preparation for the revolution, military engagements, Turko-Egyptian strength, action of the Greek volunteers, and cooperation between some Cretans and the Turkish enemy. Also included are nonmilitary elements such as economic and political matters, the situation of the Greek clergy, Greek Cretan refugees, and Turkish Cretans. Ottoman military strength, with Egyptian support, was superior to the Cretan irregular forces in equipment, provisions, numbers, and tactics. Although Greece maintained a precarious neutrality, it could neither prevent the flow of Greek volunteers from Greek harbors nor suppress public excitement instigated by Cretan refugees in Athens. In brief, these reports constituted a valuable source of information for the Greek government, which was concerned with the effort to unite Crete with Greece; for the interested scholar and student they comprise an important chronicle of the 1866 Cretan insurrection.

Ohio University

WILLIAM P. KALDIS

MAREA RĂSCOALĂ A ȚĂRANILOR DIN 1907 [The Great Peasant Revolt in 1907]. By *Andrei Oțetea et al.* Edited by *A. Oțetea et al.* [Institutul de Studii Istorice și Social-Politice de pe Lîngă C. C. al P. C. R.; Institutul de Istorie "N. Iorga" al Academiei Republicii Socialiste România.] (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România. 1967. Pp. 907. Lei 51.)

THE Rumanian peasant uprising of 1907 is an event of enormous importance for an understanding of Rumanian social history; it is also significant for anyone interested in the sources and dynamics of agrarian upheavals. The present work, the product of a "collective" of Rumanian historians, is a welcome and major addition to the literature. For obvious reasons, the 1907 uprising has always been an approved area of research under the Communist regime, and this book has profited greatly from spadework in the gathering and publication of archival materials, central and local, during the last two decades. It is pleasant to note, too, that it re-establishes intellectual contact with an earlier generation of Rumanian writers who had dealt with 1907: N. Iorga, C. Stere, C. Dobrogeanu-Gherea, Radu Rosetti, and others—some of the most stimulating political and historical students of their time. Although an aim of the book is to demonstrate a vigorous revolutionary tradition in the Rumanian past, it is centrally a very substantial and detailed account of this vast convulsion that spread over most of the country and was suppressed at the cost of thousands of lives.

The social and economic background will be relatively familiar to those who have studied earlier Rumanian works on the subject. The account of the uprising itself, however, is told in great detail, with extensive use of local records, and follows the course of the disturbances, district by district, as they advanced

southward from Botoșani in northern Moldavia and then erupted almost simultaneously throughout Muntenia. There are also chapters devoted to the repercussions in Transylvania and Bucovina, then parts of the Habsburg Empire; to the attitudes and role of the Rumanian working class and the intellectuals; to echoes abroad, especially in neighboring states; to foreign press coverage (one winces to see the London *Times* correspondent reporting that the marauding bands were composed "not of peasants but of turbulent characters from the towns, gipsies, foreigners, and escaped criminals"); and finally to 1907 as a theme in literature and art. This work is an important contribution.

Dartmouth College

HENRY L. ROBERTS

POLAND AND THE WESTERN POWERS, 1938-1939: A STUDY IN THE INTERDEPENDENCE OF EASTERN AND WESTERN EUROPE. By *Anna M. Cienciala*. [Studies in Political History.] (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1968. Pp. x, 310. \$9.00.)

WESTERN diplomatic historians only less than their Soviet counterparts have judged Poland's foreign policy in the Piłsudski-Beck era as fatally flawed. Józef Beck in particular has emerged as one guilty of gross misjudgment and dilettantism, one whose decisions place him high on the list of those responsible for the outbreak of World War II. Recently, Bohdan Budurowycz's study of Polish-Soviet relations in the 1930's has redressed this view by identifying the limitations imposed on Warsaw by the frigid state of its connections with Moscow, a situation by no means exclusively of Polish making. Now Anna Cienciala offers a companion work emphasizing the strictures placed on Poland's policy by decisions made in Paris and London.

Inevitably such an undertaking entails considerable retracing of familiar ground, but the author distinguishes her work by fresh perspective and use of unpublished materials in London's Sikorski Institute and the Polish Research Center, the Hoover Library, and the Polish embassy in Berlin. The resulting thesis maintains that the Poles had no alternatives to the policy Beck pursued in 1938-1939. While conceding that the one hopeful course for Poland was an alliance with pre-Munich Czechoslovakia, France, and Britain, Cienciala demonstrates that to such a diplomatic revolution the most formidable obstacle was Chamberlain's determined acquiescence in the partition of Czechoslovakia. Confronted thus, Beck, admittedly no friend of the Czechs, laid claim to Teschen, sympathized with Slovak separatism, hoped for a common frontier with Hungary in Ruthenia, and sought a German guarantee on Danzig as the only available means of minimizing Hitler's gains at Munich. As for the argument that the Polish opposition parties if in power would have taken the path toward alliance with Prague, this study makes clear that these elements, too, demanded Teschen, a price Beneš refused to pay until the bitter end. Questionable, however, is the author's assertion that Warsaw's veto of Red Army transit across Poland was made only after the breakdown of the 1939 Anglo-Russian negotiations and consequently had no bearing on their disruption. While the Chamberlain government was indeed inhibited in its approach to Moscow by other considerations, it was neither unaware of nor uninfluenced by adamant Polish opposition expressed

early in 1938 to the entry of Soviet troops for any purpose. Writing this review in August 1968 as Czechoslovakia is once again subject to Great Power invasion, again with Polish participation, one could not fail to observe what is so well documented in this work: the foreign policy options of the smaller countries of Eastern Europe have always been severely limited, essentially reactive, and invariably agonizing.

Pennsylvania State University

KENT FORSTER

THE RUSSIAN CONQUEST OF BASHKIRIA 1552-1740: A CASE STUDY IN IMPERIALISM. By *Alton S. Donnelly*. [Yale Russian and East European Studies, Number 7.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1968. Pp. x, 214. \$6.50.)

It is difficult to find historians of the Russian Empire who treat impartially the tsarist imperialism that created and sustained the Empire. It is even more difficult to find discussions of Russian imperialism prior to 1860 by which time the largest part of the Empire was established. Professor Donnelly's study is a welcome exception to these statements.

In this well-researched book the author describes the Russian advance into and annexation of an important area of western Siberia in the eighteenth century. Bashkiria, which comprised the area between the Volga River and the Ural Mountains and which was inhabited by a nomadic Muslim Turkic people, separated Russia from Central Asia and Siberia. Its conquest and integration into the Empire were a prerequisite for further Russian eastward expansion.

The author finds five major causes for Russian movement toward the south-east and into Bashkiria: the necessity for terminating harmful raids by the nomads, the desire to increase government income through tribute, Peter's interest in metallurgy, his intention to trade with the East, and official and unofficial migration of Russians into the area. The methods of Russian advance and "pacification" of the natives are well described. The officials who carried out this policy are shown to be similar in ideology and interests (bringing civilization, national pride, search for riches) to colonial officials of other European states.

The effect of the conquest on the Bashkirs, which annihilated perhaps one-third of the populace, should lay to rest the idea that tsarist imperialism was somehow more humane than that of other states. In fact, Donnelly's own evidence raises doubts about his initial contention that Russian policy in Bashkiria was exemplary for its noninterference in local internal affairs, with the exceptions of colonization and religious conversion. If the Russians killed one-third of the Bashkirs, seized their lands, and attacked their structure of belief, one wonders where else they could interfere.

The limitations of the work are inherent in the sources used, as the author readily admits in his preface. Although he has thoroughly mined the Russian sources at his disposal, he inevitably slights, and to some extent misunderstands, the Bashkir viewpoint. Relying on the observations of Russian officials, most of whom did not understand the importance of Islam to those peoples, Donnelly seems to feel that Bashkir resistance was largely a defense of their lands, not their beliefs. His choice of 1740 as the cutoff date is perhaps unfortunate. Sources

from Catherine II's period (Bashkir and Tatar presentations to the Legislative Commission) show that the natives considered the religious question and the excesses of Orthodox "missionaries" to be their major problems.

In sum, however, Donnelly has made a valuable contribution to the history of the Russian Empire, and it is hoped that the other Russian conquests made before 1860 will soon receive the scholarly attention that they warrant.

Michigan State University

ALAN W. FISHER

ORIGINS OF THE RUSSIAN INTELLIGENTSIA: THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY NOBILITY. By *Marc Raeff*. [Original Harbinger Book.] (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World. 1966. Pp. 248. \$2.45.)

MARC Raeff has always been fascinated with and inspired by transitions—the secret connection of seemingly opposed historical movements. He has done this brilliantly in his classic study of the bureaucratic legalism of Speransky and in his articles on early nineteenth-century Russian thought, and his flair manifests itself once again in the title of his new book.

Raeff finds the link between the nineteenth-century Russian intelligentsia and the post-Petrine nobility (formations generally seen as starkly opposed to each other) to be in the conception of service—the Petrine idea of state service, transformed in such transitional figures as Novikov and Radishchev into the aim of service to "the people" or "the common good." He traces many characteristic intelligentsia features to roots in the eighteenth-century nobility: the sense of a culture mission, faith in reason and science, extremist utopianism, rootlessness, and even the feeling of alienation from the state. This link and these features he discusses lucidly, with great erudition and articulateness.

I have, however, some quarrels with the book. First, I find the psychologizing interesting but a little thin, with an occasional dangerous yaw in the direction of glibness. Dostoevski's Porfiry Petrovich warns us that, as a causal explanation, psychology is double edged. Raeff uses Bolotov and other memoir sources (along with legal documents, petitions, and so forth) extensively, but I miss the intensive analysis. There is not a single long quotation. I miss the flavor, the texture, the prose, the sensuous presence of what he writes about. In general, the level of abstraction is rather high.

Secondly, I believe it a mistake to exclude so thoroughly the economic sphere, even though the books of J. Blum and M. Confino already exist. The recent studies of Arcadius Kahan would lead one to conclude that the Westernization of the Russian nobility, given its cost and the means at the disposal of the nobility, could not possibly have been so thoroughly completed by the end of the eighteenth century as Raeff makes it out to be. This does not invalidate his thesis as to the *direction* of change, and, of course, that is the essential point. It is, nevertheless, a weakness. So is (except in the brilliant chapter on home and school life and additional scattered occasional insights) the missing relationship to serfdom, without which the psychology of the nobility remains somehow incomplete.

Thirdly, although we all use the word, and I fear it is indispensable, I dislike

the ideological implications of "Westernization." Here, given current abuses, Raeff is a minor offender. Yet he speaks of Russians ignorant of "the frame" of European culture, the particulars of which they have so eagerly excerpted. He forgets that in Europe, too, by the end of the eighteenth century, the frame was bent much awry or broken altogether and that, by the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Nietzsche counted himself as almost the only remaining "good European."

In brief, this book is a beginning and not an end. In its power both to suggest and to provoke, to generalize and to comprehend, it is very good indeed.

University of Rochester

SIDNEY MONAS

DMITRII MILIUTIN AND THE REFORM ERA IN RUSSIA. By *Forrest A. Miller*. ([Nashville, Tenn.:] Vanderbilt University Press. 1968. Pp. ix, 246. \$7.50.)

Most of this study is devoted to a painstakingly detailed and, by and large, accurate description of the Russian military reforms introduced during the reign of Alexander II; the military district system of 1862; the reorganization of the military schools from 1863 to 1870; and the introduction of universal military service in 1874. As the author shows, Dmitrii Miliutin, who as Minister of War was the driving force behind the reforms, sought to reshape the army on the basis of several broadly conceived principles including a rational administration capped by the War Ministry, a combination of technical and combat training for officers and men, and the "all class" concept of service. The result, in Miliutin's eyes, would be a more efficient, professional fighting force, better trained and equipped, smaller and relatively less costly than the lumbering mammoth that went down to defeat in the Crimean War. From these pages Miliutin emerges as an embattled hero, "among the greatest statesmen of the Russian Empire," who almost singlehandedly fought the "planters' party" and overcame the hesitations and confusions of the irresolute Tsar. If we can believe the author, Miliutin won his political battles because he was right and his enemies were wrong. Miller may be correct, but much more will have to be done before he can prove it to everyone's satisfaction.

In contrast to his exhaustive treatment of the reforms themselves, he has written a traditional and by now inadequate description of the politics of the reform era. First of all, he ignores the relationships between military policy and other vital issues such as the abolition of serfdom, railroad construction, and the development of a metallurgical industry. Secondly, he glosses over important facets of Miliutin's political career such as his key role in the "forward policy" in Central Asia and his immense influence in the formation of foreign policy in general in the period from 1864 to 1877. Thirdly, he fails to draw the crucial distinction between personal clashes and policy differences in politics and thus is hard put to explain how Miliutin survived as War Minister for almost twenty years during which time he saw the major part of his program become the law of the Empire. Finally, Miller accepts Miliutin's own assumptions and characterizations with little if any critical analysis. The result is an unabashed apologia.

That the author did not have access to the large and important Miliutin Archive in the Manuscript Division of the Lenin Library (in which American scholars have been working since 1958) explains, in part, these omissions. Even more important, however, the author has not examined all the relevant published sources; nor has he exercised the necessary critical sense on those he has read. A full-length study of Dmitrii Miliutin still needs to be written.

University of Pennsylvania

ALFRED J. RIEBER

PATTERNS OF SOVIET THOUGHT: THE ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT OF DIALECTICAL AND HISTORICAL MATERIALISM. By *Richard T. De George*. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1966. Pp. xi, 293. \$6.95.)

THIS admirable volume describes the development of Marxist-Leninist thought, as understood in the Soviet Union, from its beginnings to the present. There are many works in English, some excellent, that cover more or less the same ground, including the studies by Carew-Hunt, Bocheński, Meyer, Wetter, and Marcuse, not to mention translations of Soviet works. Yet De George's effort claims special attention for several reasons.

The first, though not the most important, is that no existing work covers so vast a scope with such conciseness and yet thoroughness. De George presents his subject in three parts: the first deals with the writings of Marx and Engels; the second treats Lenin's works; and the third describes the Stalin and post-Stalin periods. All this is accomplished with remarkable economy and clarity, while preserving an appreciation of the complexities involved. Perhaps I can best illustrate my admiration by stating that I have never read a clearer distillation of Hegel in such a context or a more useful guide to Lenin's purely philosophical works, notably his *Materialism* and *Empirio-Criticism*.

More importantly, De George treats his subject with the professional competence of a trained philosopher and with the fairness and common sense of a scholar who has mastered himself as well as his discipline. On the one hand, at every turn throughout the book De George poses penetrating questions to reveal the weaknesses of Marxism-Leninism, the kind of questions that only philosophers are capable of asking. Yet he obviously accords his subject the respect due to a serious body of thought that, with all its faults, has provided a viable and developing world view espoused by millions.

Finally, De George's treatment is a welcome antidote to the fashionable claim in our day that there has ensued an "end of ideology" in the USSR and that Marxism-Leninism has become a dead language. De George agrees that philosophy is subordinate to ideology (he makes a useful distinction between the two) and that theory is subordinate to practice in the Soviet Union. "Yet," he warns, "Soviet practice is infused with theory and can be separated from it only at the risk of falsifying and essentially misunderstanding it. . . ." The author reminds us, "Tactics change, ends do not." To try to understand Soviet society or policy without a knowledge of the foundations of Soviet thought, he tells us, "is in many respects like trying to understand the Middle Ages without a knowl-

edge of Christianity." Neither the "correctness" of the ideology nor the dullness of the catechism is relevant to the importance of the creed, but rather its ability to engage the minds of men and to move them. De George is convinced that whatever most Soviet citizens may think of their government, they accept Marxism-Leninism, despite its problems, as a useful explanation of human existence.

University of Wisconsin

MICHAEL B. PETROVICH

RUSSIA'S PROTECTORATES IN CENTRAL ASIA: BUKHARA AND KHIVA, 1865-1924. By *Seymour Becker*. [Russian Research Center Studies, Number 54.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1968. Pp. xiv, 416. \$12.50.)

UPON conquering Central Asia, Russia organized its newly acquired territories in two ways: most of the area was directly annexed to the Empire and governed by military governors, while certain portions were left in the hands of native rulers who were closely controlled by Russian political residents. Scholars, both Western and Russian, have paid much more attention to the conquest itself and to the annexed territories than the khanates of Khiva, Kokand, and Bukhara. The khanates, however, posed certain problems for Russian imperialism. The prolonged survival of the emirate of Bukhara was in itself a phenomenon deserving attention. Professor Seymour Becker has produced a solid, well-documented work on the protectorates of Bukhara and Khiva from their conquest to 1924.

The first third of the book, dealing with Russia's advance into Central Asia, the conquest of the khanates and of Transcaspia, Merv and smaller areas to the east, and with Anglo-Russian relations, is the least successful. The story is told from a few well-known sources. Military campaigns are enumerated, but never brought to life; diplomatic activity is discussed at some length, but the analysis offers nothing new.

The rest of the book is of much higher quality. Becker carefully traces the relations of the conqueror and the conquered, examines economic changes that occurred in the khanates as a result of their inclusion in the body of the Empire, and measures the impact of foreign domination upon the protectorates. Though his sources are predominantly Russian, the author paints an accurate picture of the reaction of a group of partly Westernized Bukharans, the Jadids, to Russian domination and their opposition to the corrupt and cruel traditional government of the emir.

The Revolution of 1917, leading to a brief period of independence, did not change the essential relationships of power in Central Asia. Wherever Russian rule had collapsed in 1918, it was reimposed a few months or, at most, a few years later. Becker sets before the reader in a concise manner the main facts of the Revolution, civil war, and reconquest. One can only wish that the material were not so highly compressed and that some attempt had been made to evoke the atmosphere of those turbulent years.

Yale University

FIRUZ KAZEMZADEH

ISTORIIA VELIKOI OKTIABR'SKOI SOTSIALISTICHESKOI REVOLIUTSII [History of the Great October Socialist Revolution]. Edited by P. I. Sobolev et al. [Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Institut Istorii.] (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1967. Pp. 670.)

HAD Lenin, like Churchill, lived long enough to write the history of his greatest triumphs, and had he been a mere cataloguer of events instead of the passionate fighter and writer that he was, one of his autobiographical volumes might have resembled this book of dull essays, recounting the progress of Bolshevism from the overthrow of the Tsar in March 1917 to the signing of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk in March 1918. To have written such a tome, however, Lenin, in addition to sacrificing his pungent style, would, at some point before his death, have had to arrive at the decision that all of his past words, thoughts, and deeds had etched themselves into stone tablets as eternal verities and that he alone, in that epic year, had been the correct interpreter of the intuitively Marxian will of the workers and peasants of the Russian Empire as they struggled to overcome their class enemies. These included the war-loving *Entente* and German imperialists, their natural partners in crime, the landlords, the bosses, and the generals of Russia, and those who served the enemy camp directly or indirectly—namely, the “collaborating” socialists of the provisional government and such Bolshevik wolves in sheeps’ clothing as Kamenev, Zinoviev, Rykov, and Trotsky.

In 1938, setting the tone for the “Dark Age” of Soviet historiography, there appeared the Stalin-dictated *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) Short Course*, which devoted two chapters to the subject matter of this volume. On the final page of the *Short Course* Stalin is quoted as saying, “I think the Bolsheviks remind us of the hero of Greek mythology, Antaeus.” Indeed, the *Short Course* was mythology and with its creation Stalin had become the Homer as well as the Zeus of Bolshevism. Alas, Achilles had his heel, and Stalin was merely mortal. Thus, after his death, his saga was revised, and this Khrushchevian or “early Renaissance” version of the Soviet *Iliad* comes closer but not close to historic truth.

Although Lenin was not, as herein portrayed, the only hero of 1917, this is still an improvement over the time when he was forced to share the Olympian heights with Stalin. Lenin’s former successor in the line of Marxian prophets, the “Coryphaeus of Mankind” and “Father of Peoples,” appears in this opus as a lowly spear bearer, being listed occasionally as an occupant of one or another party office, but having no ideas worthy of recording. Events are narrated largely to fit their presentation in Lenin’s *Collected Works*, and footnotes refer almost exclusively to Bolshevik writings, principally Lenin’s, but exclude as sources all other major participants in the march to glory. Non-Russian scholars were forbidden to the researchers, a pity, because the best work on the Revolution to date has been done by British and American scholars. As an excellent summary of Lenin’s line of the period, this book can be of definite use to students of the Revolution. Data drawn from archives and other inaccessible sources will also provide material for foreign scholars, as in Chapter x, which lengthily discusses the revolutionary movement throughout the territory of Russia.

The board of editors of this volume declare that this enlarged and reworked

edition grew out of a response to criticism of the 1962 edition and state that new materials, appearing in the interim, were used to clarify "many questions about the history of the October Revolution." My careful perusal of the 1962 edition did not bear out this claim. The 1967 revision has done nothing noteworthy to improve the earlier text.

City College of New York

STANLEY W. PAGE

Near East

SCIENCE AND CIVILIZATION IN ISLAM. By *Seyyed Hossein Nasr*. With a preface by *Giorgio de Santillana*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1968. Pp. xiv, 21-384. \$8.95.)

APPARENTLY I was not the first to be disturbed by some of the things in Dr. Nasr's book; it carries, by way of preface, an apologia by Giorgio de Santillana: "No Neo-Thomist nostalgias here," comments De Santillana, and anyone who has come to Islam from the direction of the Greeks and Aristotle knows precisely the touch that has been scored. There may have been, however, other nostalgias at work.

Nasr has attempted to explain, by personal narrative and a generous and valuable selection of texts in translation, the sciences cultivated by the medieval Muslims in terms of the Islamic experience. There are some initial biographical sketches and a substantial treatment of the various educational institutions where these "Islamic sciences" were pursued and propagated. There follow individual chapters on "Cosmology and Geography," "Physics," "Mathematics," "Astronomy," "Medicine," "Ethnography," "Alchemy," "Philosophy and Theology," and, finally, the "Gnostic Tradition."

Substantially there is little ground for criticism, save, perhaps, that the matter is set out somewhat impressionistically in places and so neither as fully described nor as cogently argued as one might wish. *Transeat*. Nasr has, however, a view of Islam that colors everything that he has written here—what De Santillana perhaps mistook for "orthodox piety"—and one to which I must take absolute exception. In the author's own words, "In the Islamic world, the highest form of knowledge has never been any single science, or *scientia*, which remains at the discursive level, but the 'wisdom of the saints' or *sapientia*, which ultimately means gnosis." I cannot subscribe to such a proposition, a not uncommon one among those who emphasize the Iranian, Shiite, and Sufi elements in Islam. These last are rich indeed, but appear in somewhat different perspective when viewed from Baghdad or Cairo, rather than from Tehran.

Nasr has brought the Hellenic and Iranian traditions in Islam into confrontation and judged for the latter, which is excellent. But there is as well an Arab Islam, traditionally conservative, literalist in its understanding, almost rabbinical in its methodology, and with grave misgivings about both the rationalist arrogance of Hellenism and the Gnostic fantasies of the Iranians. It is this Arab tradition, I submit, that is at the heart of what is understood as orthodox

Islam, and to omit any discussion of its viewpoint and its sciences—jurisprudence, Hadith, philology, and so forth—in a work on Islamic science or Islamic civilization is fundamentally misleading.

New York University

F. E. PETERS

OTTOMAN REFORM IN SYRIA AND PALESTINE, 1840-1861: THE IMPACT OF THE TANZIMAT ON POLITICS AND SOCIETY. By *Moshe Ma'oz*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1968. Pp. xi, 266. \$8.80.)

THE attempt to eliminate discrimination against minorities by government decree requires the resolve and the capability to resort to force if moral suasion should fail to achieve the desired result. Firm control over the region in question is requisite to the application of force. Otherwise, the edicts of the administration constitute mere irritants to the majority, and sporadic, inconsistent enforcement efforts lead to outbursts of reactionary violence directed against both government and minority group.

That was the experience of the United States government in the South during the 1950's. While the parallels are only teasingly suggestive, that was also the experience of the Ottoman government in Syria and Palestine a century earlier. In this admirably researched volume by the young Israeli Orientalist, Moshe Ma'oz, it becomes clear that progress toward the liberal goal of the Istanbul reformers, Muslim-Christian-Jewish equality, was halting; the power potential of the Empire in Syria was neither consistently nor capably applied; swelling Muslim resentment flared into three serious massacres; European intervention added both to the pressure and to the reaction; and ultimately an acute alienation developed between Arab and Turk that constituted one of the building blocks of Arab nationalism later in the century.

In this first case study of the regional application of *Tanzimat* reforms, Ma'oz, who studied under Albert Hourani at Oxford University, stresses the significance of the Egyptian occupation of Syria and Palestine in considering the fate of the reforms. The area did not fully experience the gradualism of Sultan Mahmud II as he recentralized authority and carefully promoted the new concept of Ottoman citizenship with its egalitarian component. Instead, the nine-year domination of Ibrahim Pasha, with its heavy, broadly distributed taxation, sweeping conscription, and favoritism toward Christians and Jews, produced Muslim longing for the Ottoman return. To curry local favor while their power was weak, the Ottomans then undid the crucial accomplishments of the Cairo regime: they distributed weapons once again to the unruly elements the Egyptians had disarmed, and they augmented the power of the councils of local notables to check the authority of the Ottoman governor. It is more critical that the returning Ottomans apparently failed to appreciate that Syrian Muslims, having suffered the demeaning erosion of their superior position during the Egyptian occupation, would react all the more emotionally to the Ottoman effort to achieve the same end. Weaker Ottoman authority, coupled with collaboration or at least collusion with the reactionaries on the part of some ineffectual Ottoman governors, precipitated massacres of Christians in Aleppo, Nablus, and Damascus, further

discrediting in the eyes of haughty Europeans the sincere, if maladroit, Ottoman effort to attain a more Westernized form of government and society.

Ma'oz has foraged widely in Ottoman archives, European consular records, and contemporary Arab, Hebrew, and European books and periodicals to amass the multiple examples from which his judicious conclusions are drawn. He has produced, however, a rather cold analysis of situations that were intensely human. The text is spare, and the reader longs for flesh-and-blood personalities. What is more serious, the total exclusion of events on Mount Lebanon from the discussion renders an aura of unreality. However complex and diversionary to the theme of his study the Druze-Maromite clashes may have been, the factors involved there did condition the Syrian picture. Such a reservation, however, does not essentially detract from the solid contribution Ma'oz has made to a fuller evaluation of the important *Tanzimat* movement in Middle Eastern history.

University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

HERBERT L. BODMAN, JR.

DIE ADEN-GRENZE IN DER SÜDARABIENFRAGE (1900-1967). DIE ADENER GRENZKOMMISSION (1901-1907), by *Jens Plass*; ÜBERBLICK ÜBER DIE ENGLISCH-JEMENITISCHEN BEZIEHUNGEN UNTER DEM GESICHTSPUNKT DES SÜD-JEMENANSPRUCHS (1900-1967), by *Ulrich Gehrke*. [Schriften des Deutschen Orient-Instituts, Materialien und Dokumente.] (Opladen: C. W. Leske Verlag. 1967. Pp. x, 345. DM 28.)

AMONG the factors that have contaminated the climate of international relations in the Arab world in recent years are the numerous border disputes that vex inter-Arab relations. The origins of these conflicts are varied. Some predate the modern era; others were born of the diplomatic maneuverings that accompanied the rise and decline of European imperialism in the Arab Middle East; still others reflect nationalist yearnings. That the current turmoil concerning the political configuration of southern Arabia is the product of a volatile mixture of traditional and recent disagreements is illustrated by this collaboration by two German specialists in international affairs, Jens Plass and Ulrich Gehrke.

Their book consists of two essays. The first, by Plass, is a detailed, technical chronicle of the Aden Boundary Commission's attempt, between 1901 and 1907, to delimit the frontier separating the British-controlled territory surrounding Aden from the lands of the imamate of Yemen, then an autonomous principality within the Ottoman Empire. The second essay, by Gehrke, explains the fate of the commission's recommendations by summarizing the course of Anglo-Yemeni relations from 1901 to the spring of 1967 with particular reference to the evolution of the Yemeni claim to Aden and its hinterland ("Occupied South Yemen" as the region eventually was labeled by the rulers in San'a'). The original negotiations were complicated, involving not only several levels of Britain's imperial administration and the Ottoman government, but also the strong-willed Yemenis, who once had exercised a loose hegemony over southern Arabia, as well as countless minor sultans and sheiks scattered throughout the disputed territories.

As long as Britain governed Aden, its frontier remained more an extensive zone of disturbance than a sharp line of demarcation; protracted border skirmishing alternated with abortive attempts—notably in 1919, 1934, and 1951—to settle the frontier issue. As Gehrke explains, moreover, the dealings that anticipated Britain's withdrawal from Aden were influenced strongly by Yemeni irredentism. Also, this irredentism may well determine the future of Aden's successor state, the Peoples' Republic of South Yemen, which was formed in November 1967.

The book is well researched although it is based entirely upon Western-language sources including material from official British archives and does not utilize any Ottoman or Yemeni documents not available in translation. The useful appendix includes relevant treaty texts, a large bibliography, and three informative maps. Historians of the Middle East and students of international affairs will welcome this volume. If it is rather pedestrian in plan and execution, it has the virtues of workmanlike solidity and judicious impartiality, which are lacking in the argumentative propaganda that too often marks studies of Middle Eastern and Arabian territorial feuds.

Virginia Polytechnic Institute

ROBERT GERAN LANDEN

SOUTH ARABIA: ARENA OF CONFLICT. By *Tom Little*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1968. Pp. xi, 196. \$5.00.)

BRITAIN seized Aden in 1839. The area involved was less than 80 square miles; the 500 inhabitants of the totally decayed port lived in squalid poverty. A century and a quarter later it had become a thriving city of some 200,000 inhabitants, and the port was used by about 6,000 ships of 30,000,000 net tonnage. In 1967, when Britain withdrew, the city found itself in a desperate economic position as a result of the struggle for independence, the blocking of the Suez Canal by the Israeli-Arab war, and by the strife between the political parties in the city and the adjoining territory with which it was now to form the state of South Arabia. Mr. Little tells this story in a workmanlike, clear, and remarkably unprejudiced manner. The main portion deals with the political history of the last twenty years and terminates with the birth of the new state on November 30, 1967. During this period the author's work as a collector and distributor of news about the Arab world gave him the opportunity to meet the principal personalities concerned and to observe the day-to-day course of events.

Aden was acquired as a staging post on the way to India, and the gradual formation of a protectorate of 112,000 square miles to the northeast of the colony had no aim beyond protection from marauding tribesmen and interference from other powers. While the colony prospered under British rule, the area beyond its frontiers, with its congeries of needy principalities and sheikdoms, was left virtually undisturbed in its traditional medieval anarchy. It was only after the First World War that improved means of communication and the transformation that they wrought in political conditions and thinking led the British government to set about modernizing the protectorates, developing such scanty resources as they possessed, and ultimately making them and Aden into one political unit. As part of an empire Aden had become a multiracial city in which a privileged

position was held by Indians and Somalis from other British dominions, as well as by the Arab Adenis, while Arabs from nearby Yemen were regarded with suspicion as being citizens of a state that claimed Aden as unredeemed territory. British reluctance to withdraw as rapidly and completely from the Middle East as from India and elsewhere created a conflict with Arab nationalism that rendered a happy solution impossible. Hence the inglorious ending to a hitherto successful enterprise. Little is the first to tell the whole story. His book is dependable in its facts, readable, and likely to remain a useful reference work for a long time.

Banbury, England

NEVILL BARBOUR

THE ARAB-ISRAELI DILEMMA. By *Fred J. Khouri*. ([Syracuse, N. Y.:] Syracuse University Press. 1968. Pp. xi, 436. \$10.00.)

FEW issues have provoked more writers to study the background and the cumulative factors that rendered those issues more difficult to solve than the Arab-Israeli conflict. It is no exaggeration to say that almost all the literature recently published has either dealt with the subject from an Arab or Zionist point of view, most favoring the latter rather than the former position. The need for a study that gives a balanced and a fairly objective view is urgent, for no lasting settlement of the issue would ever be possible before the public in this country and abroad would be ready to reappraise the issue in a detached attitude. To the best of my knowledge this is the first attempt made by an author to present to the American public a fair and detached assessment of the causes and conflicting interests and attitudes of the parties directly or indirectly concerned in the conflict.

As a Christian member of an originally Arabic-speaking family, the author is naturally sympathetic with the Arab viewpoint, but he is also critical of Arab policies, methods, and attitudes. He shows remarkable detachment in presenting the Zionist viewpoint, and he is both sympathetic and critical, as he was with the Arabs, of Israel's expansionist policy, its resort to violence, and its utter disregard of Arab grievances and injured pride. Might it not be better, he suggests, if Israel were to advance moderate demands, now that they have achieved military victory? As an American citizen, the author shows his concern for American national interest and the American image abroad, which have been adversely affected by the way the Arab-Israeli conflict has been handled by the American policy maker and also his concern for the international implications of the problem.

Although the book deals with the conflict from its very origins—the beginning of the Zionist movement and the Balfour Declaration—the author devotes the greater part of it to the issues that have arisen from the establishment of Israel in 1948 and ends with a detailed discussion of the war of June 1967 and its aftermath. In the latter part of the book, the author offers his own proposals for a settlement of the problem, which, in brief, seems to center around the establishment of an Arab federal union in which Israel, as a province and not as a state, would be one of the components. He realizes that it would be impossible to carry out this proposal now, but he suggests that by a slow process of compromises the federal union might prove to be eventually the practical approach to bring about the conflicting demands of the parties concerned.

Finally the author analyzes the foreign policies of the Great Powers—Russia and America, in particular—toward the conflict and criticizes the Powers for their inaction and sale of arms to both parties, which, in his view, has encouraged both the Arab states and Israel to take extreme positions and eventually to resort to force in an attempt to achieve a short-term settlement. But force, he rightly suggests, has aggravated rather than settled the issue. There are minor points to which I might take exception, but the work as a whole is a thorough piece of research for which the author is to be congratulated.

Johns Hopkins University

MAJID KHADDURI

EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS IN TURKEY, 1920–1940. By İlhan Başgöz and Howard E. Wilson. [Research Center for the Language Sciences, Indiana University. Indiana University Publications, Uralic and Altaic Series, Volume LXXXVI.] (Bloomington: Indiana University. 1968. Pp. 268. \$7.00.)

THE two decades 1920–1940 were the formative years of the new Turkey in every field of endeavor, including education, and this is a well-documented history of the development of Turkish educational institutions. The first two chapters concern the educational system of the Ottoman Empire, the madrasah (Islamic mosque schools), and a century of reform in both the military and civilian schools.

Chapter III discusses education during the War of National Liberation (1919–1922) and the new Ministry of Education, which was to set the secularist education policies of Kemalist Turkey. Chapter IV, dealing with the social foundations of modern Turkish education, refers to the important 1923 Izmir Economic Congress, which gave direction to the Kemalist reform program, including its educational aspects. In addition to Baltacıoğlu's "society schools," which emphasized nontraditional and practical subjects, the authors discuss the effects of the 1924 John Dewey report and other subsequent recommendations on Turkish education. The Latinization of the alphabet is also discussed here.

Chapter V is concerned with the management of education, finances, school programs, textbooks, and similar subjects. The final chapter, entitled "The Emergence of an Educational Vitality," deals with problems of training educators as well as trends in vocational, technical, and agricultural education. President Atatürk, the authors stress, believed that education should be used as an instrument for progress and that "national culture" had three pillars: language, history, and the fine arts. The differing views of Sadrettin Celal, who favored "modern education," and Ziya Gökalp, who advocated "national education," were resolved by a compromise in which education was to be both modern and nationalistic.

The nationalistic, yet pragmatic and "scientific," nature of Turkey's present-day educational system is largely a product of developments during the two decades of Atatürk's leadership. While secularism in education replaced Islamic traditions, the Turkic heritage was not neglected.

American University

KERIM K. KEY

Africa

ISLAM AND IMPERIALISM IN SENEGAL: SINE-SALOUM, 1847-1914. By *Martin A. Klein*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press for the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace. 1968. Pp. xvi, 285. \$7.95.)

A CRUCIAL aspect of the recent growth of historical interest concerning Africa has been the appearance of studies in depth, dealing with specific problems and indigenous institutions. These are the "building blocks" upon which generalized works of broad appeal and impact are grounded, and against which they are tested. But a complicating factor, which in the past has so often restricted the study of Africa, is the demand that an author be at once attuned to the society he studies and to its source materials, yet also have mastery of the Western scholarly apparatus.

Fortunately, Professor Klein fulfills both requirements, and this study of two of the Serer states in Senegal is a sound contribution to the documented literature of African history. The selection of Sine and Saloum by themselves, and in relation first to the neighboring Wolof (Muslim) state and then to the French and the *cercle* of Nioro, "was dictated by the nature of the archives and by my [the author's] central concern with the structure of power." The resulting focus is the political entity; the culture is diverse—five ethnic groups, four languages, and three older states, all finally ruled by France in two units that merged in 1904. The account is substantially the record of political resistance alternatively to Islam and to Europeans, but ultimately of the area's adjustment and accommodation to both pressures. The peanut exports and Roman Catholic missions were the initial contacts with France; geographical proximity provided the opening wedge for Islam. In the end, as France employed the traditional Sine-Saloum administrative structure, but introduced Muslim concepts and functionaries into it (a policy frequently followed elsewhere in the Empire), Gallic bureaucratic ideas and borrowed Islamic concepts became an integral part of modern Sine-Saloum.

The author knows the limitations and the possibilities of oral sources. The strength of those people whom he interviewed was their acquaintance with property and status matters, not with analysis or social history. Thus he quite properly uses certain of their factual evidence, critically judged, and interweaves it with other documentation in order to extend his narrative. The archival resources for Senegal, which are better than those available for most areas of Africa, are well searched, particularly those in Dakar and in Paris. At the same time, Britain and the Gambia are not overlooked. Having by chance been able to check at random several citations in the original archives, I should note that the references were succinct, sufficient, and accurate.

In analysis and interpretation of material, Klein commendably avoids the "oversimplifications," as he calls them, of such generalized terms used by many writers to describe African institutions and colonial policies as, for example, "assimilation." Instead, the particular situation is reviewed and described in an effective, specific style.

The footnote comments are ample and helpful, but this procedure has driven

the documentation to an inconvenient separate back section and necessitated use of both numbered and lettered superscripts in the text. There are four good maps, several clear diagrams and chronological lists of the relevant persons, a thorough glossary, and a competent index.

Temple University

DONALD L. WIEDNER

THE CITY OF IBADAN. Edited by *P. C. Lloyd et al.* (New York: Cambridge University Press in association with the Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan. 1967. Pp. viii, 280. \$8.50.)

IBADAN, the capital of the Western Region of Nigeria, is today a city of a million people, the largest inland African metropolis. In appearance it still merits a description of 1958: "A vast, untidy, amorphous aggregation of rusty tin-roofed shacks." It is indeed more a giant village than a city, with half of its adult male population practicing farming outside the city limits as their main occupation. In origin it was not an essentially colonial foundation, like Kaduna or Abidjan, nor an old African capital raised by alien rulers to an importance it would hardly have achieved on its own, like Accra. There have been people living at Ibadan since the Stone Age. At the beginning of the nineteenth century it was a small Egba market town. Destroyed early in the Yoruba civil wars, it became a war camp for refugees fleeing south from the Fulani and was refounded about 1829 as a mainly Oyo settlement. During the remainder of the nineteenth century it exercised widespread influence in Yorubaland, which has led some historians to speak of an "Ibadan Empire." Following the signing of an enforced agreement in 1893 the town and its environs became part of British Nigeria.

The City of Ibadan consists of fifteen papers, preceded by an introduction, which were presented to a seminar organized early in 1964 by the Institute of African Studies, at the University of Ibadan. The contributions are of varied quality, and some appear to state the obvious at unnecessary length. Historians of West Africa will, however, find "Ibadan, Its Early Beginnings," by Bolanle Awe, of great interest, along with "Government and Politics in Ibadan," by George Jenkins, which, despite its modern-sounding title, is in fact a study of the developing interrelationship between the British and the indigenous authorities between 1893 and 1963. Historical material also appears in the sections on the "Stranger Communities"—Ijebu, western Ibo, and Hausa—and a good account is given in Chapter XII, "Religion in Ibadan," of the effects of decades of competition between Islam, Christianity, and traditional animism.

The elevation of Ibadan from village to metropolis has placed a heavy burden on those responsible for its future. Physical growth has outpaced planning. Compared to other population centers in the Western Region, Ibadan, as the regional capital, receives preferential financial treatment from government, but remains nevertheless seriously short of funds for development. Taxation cannot provide sufficient money to implement the policies of the planners so long as the average citizen's income remains so low. There is, in addition, a built-in conflict between the new elite of professionals, technicians, administrators, and businessmen and the traditional heads of the community. The two groups do not always agree on what is best for Ibadan or on the direction in which

development should be pushed. The city provides, however, an outstanding African example of the modern world phenomenon of very rapid urbanization on a grand scale. Studies of the type that this volume pioneers may be expected to proliferate, and they will have general, not merely African, significance.

Columbia University

GRAHAM IRWIN

AFRICAN ZION: THE ATTEMPT TO ESTABLISH A JEWISH COLONY IN THE EAST AFRICA PROTECTORATE, 1903-1905. By *Robert G. Weisbord*. (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America. 1968. Pp. viii, 347. \$6.00.)

THIS book is concerned with the East Africa episode in the history of the Zionist movement. In 1903 the British government made a tentative offer of land centering in the Uasin Gishu Plateau of the East Africa Protectorate to Theodor Herzl and the Zionist organization for the establishment of "a Jewish colony of settlement." The importance of the subject, apart from Zionism, lies in the involvement of the British government and its colonial policies affecting British officials, the white settlers, land grants, the Indians, and the natives. The author's main contribution is the treatment of his subject in its broad imperialist context. The research involved visits to England, Israel, and East Africa, and both published and unpublished sources were used with fine critical acumen. A thorough and readable elucidation of the subject resulted.

The idea of the grant originated with Joseph Chamberlain, then Colonial Secretary, and it was he who induced serious consideration by British officialdom. On the whole, however, there was little enthusiasm for the scheme in British government circles, especially when opposition was encountered. The white settlers in East Africa, led by Lord Delamere who had obtained a hundred thousand acres on lease, expressed their violent opposition in a campaign of vilification of Jews in general and of the would-be Jewish settlers in particular. Eliot, commissioner of the protectorate, went along with the plan at first, but turned against it as opposition developed. The Indians were unfriendly, and the natives were not consulted.

The Zionists, too, were far from enthusiastic; Palestine was the goal of Herzl and his colleagues. When negotiations with the Sultan yielded no results, and especially when pogroms in Eastern Europe made some haven necessary, Herzl made his plea for a British territory. Cyprus was unavailable, and El 'Arîsh in Sinai (on the periphery of Palestine) was vetoed by the Egyptian government and discouraged by Cromer. In the course of these negotiations, Chamberlain made his offer. Herzl responded for humanitarian and diplomatic reasons. An astute diplomat, he saw the value of gaining British recognition of Jewish national strivings and of the Zionist movement as the spokesman for the Jewish people. He presented the offer to the Zionist Congress as a possible *Nachtschl*. A majority of the Congress deferred to his wishes to send a commission of inquiry, but there was consternation in Zionist ranks, especially among the East Europeans immediately affected; Zionism without Zion had no appeal, despite their desperate straits. In the end, the commission of inquiry found the region

unsuitable, and the British government as well as the great majority of the Zionists was relieved to be done with the scheme.

What motivated Chamberlain to make the offer and Lansdowne and others to support it? In an imperialist venture, some students eagerly look for capitalists on the prowl stalking profits. The author does not ignore this possibility, but he wisely considers other motives. The Uganda railroad was, no doubt, a factor; it was built by the British government with the strong backing of Chamberlain, and settlers were needed to justify it on economic grounds. But this was not the only consideration. Chamberlain and others sympathized with the Jewish victims of tsarism and wished to help find a haven for them. The Aliens Commission, moreover, had made its report, and the government favored restriction of immigration, which would obviously affect Jews from Eastern Europe. It was distasteful to Chamberlain and his colleagues to be associated with anti-Semites even by indirection. A Jewish settlement in East Africa held the promise of deflecting both unwanted Jewish immigrants and presumptions of anti-Semitism.

City College of New York

OSCAR I. JANOWSKY

THE SOUTHERN SUDAN: BACKGROUND TO CONFLICT. By *Mohamed Omer Beshir*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1968. Pp. xiii, 192. \$7.50.)

THIS small book is a welcome addition to the growing literature about the problem of the Southern Sudan. Approximately one-third of the volume consists of appendixes with critical documents pertaining to the evolution of the crisis in the Southern Sudan and whose appearance in the public domain students and scholars alike have long awaited. The remainder of the book concerns the development of Southern differences with the Northern Sudan and the failure of the Northern and the Southern Sudanese to resolve these differences.

As the academic secretary at the University of Khartoum and the secretary of the Round Table Conference between Northern and Southern Sudanese in 1965, the author is well qualified to write about the incredibly complex problem of the Southern Sudan, but the brevity of his analysis occasionally leads to inaccurate generalizations. For instance, his conclusion that the expulsion of Northern traders from the South in the 1930's retarded Southern economic development is grossly exaggerated. The overwhelming majority of the traders were *jallaba*, petty merchants, with virtually no capital and little entrepreneurial or commercial knowledge. Their expulsion was no economic loss to the South and certainly a social gain. Similarly, the transfer of Northern officials from the South did not affect the efficiency of the administration as is implied. More important, the motives for the decisive policy statement in 1930 by the Civil Secretary of the Sudan government, Sir Harold MacMichael, are not discussed, and the author's failure to understand that the principles of indirect rule are the roots of Southern policy results in conspiratorial assumptions that have no foundation in fact. Finally, the surprising statement that the "ultimate objective" of Southern policy was "the separation of the South from the North" is just not true, and the evidence cited on the same page to prove that assertion demonstrates

precisely the opposite—that the British had no “ultimate objective” for the Southern Sudan. Indeed, the British did not have any clearer idea of the future for the South in 1945 than the Northern Sudanese have today. Although there are some very honest admissions about the failure of the Sudan government to seek a solution to the current civil war in the Southern Sudan, to the author the principal villains who are responsible for Southern Sudanese hostility and suspicion of the Northern Sudan are the British and the Christian missionaries. Unfortunately, this defensive pleading has become rather out of date. The British left in 1956, and the missionaries were expelled in 1962. The legacy of their rule and teaching, of course, remains, but this legacy exists only because of the total failure of the Northern Sudanese to come to grips, either intellectually or politically, with the problem of the South. One can only hope that, despite the defects of condensation, this book will begin the search for understanding in Khartoum as well as Kampala.

University of California, Santa Barbara

ROBERT O. COLLINS

SMUTS: THE FIELDS OF FORCE, 1919-1950. By *W. K. Hancock*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1968. Pp. xiii, 589. \$12.50.)

THIS biographer and his subject are well met. Those who read the first volume of his life of Smuts (*Smuts: The Sanguine Years, 1870-1919*) will not be disappointed in this second and concluding volume. Indeed, this life of Smuts may be considered a vital factor in the revival of rather lengthy biographies. One has only to think of Randolph Churchill's biography of his father—now so tragically interrupted—and Alan Bullock's biography of Bevin to believe himself back at the turn of the century. In this revival Hancock has played a conspicuous role.

Smuts is not an easy subject. In the first place he lived in two worlds. As we know him, he played his part on the world stage where he appeared generally as an exponent of what may be called liberal principles. But at home much had to be hidden. His standing as a political leader in South Africa had to take on local coloration. The problem always was to be as liberal as possible without losing the following necessary to support one in office or to make one effective in opposition. The reader will learn much of this art and perhaps more of the little-understood politics of South Africa. In the second place Smuts was a philosopher and scientist. These qualities add to the scope and complexity of the man, but the politician is more to be enjoyed. In fact the philosophical side of Smuts's life will leave many readers a bit at sea. Even so, the portrait that emerges is intriguing and fully reveals one of the exceptional men of the last generation.

There are very few scholars who could have done a satisfactory life of Smuts. It required an exceptional knowledge of the wide world with some intimate acquaintance with the smaller and discreet African scene. Hancock brought to the task very fine professional habits along with a unique knowledge of the two worlds. His knowledge of the sources is scarcely equaled, while his prose is both muscular and pleasant. He understands Smuts in his several manifestations, and his treatment is deft and certain. In short, the second volume is one picked up with anticipation and put down with gratitude. It is dangerous in these

days to say that any scholarly work is definitive, but it is unlikely that anyone will undertake to follow in these footsteps during this generation.

University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

JAMES L. GODFREY

Asia and the East

HISTORY IN COMMUNIST CHINA. Edited by *Albert Feuerwerker*. (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. 1968. Pp. xiv, 382. \$12.50.)

HISTORY, in re-creating a past, reveals the underlying presentism of the historian. To the extent that Marxist temporality is a concerted substitute for the collapse of traditional time, Chinese Communist historiography necessarily emphasizes presentism as the starting point for its new temporal scheme. As Chairman Mao said: "The China of today has developed from the China in history; as we are believers in the Marxist approach to history, we must not cut off our whole historical past."

What can we make of it?

A conference on Chinese Communist historiography was held at Ditchley Manor, Oxfordshire, in September 1964; the papers from it were subsequently published in the *China Quarterly*. The conference chairman has now collected them, along with a few others, in book form. The roster of contributors is impressive. Besides Feuerwerker it includes Boorman, Ch'en, Cheng, Farquhar, Fitzgerald, Harrison, Hulsewé, Israel, Levenson, Meisner, Munro, and Wilhelm. Their articles touched on different aspects of the problem. A Soviet critique of Chinese Communist historiography by Vyatkin and Tikhvinsky and a Chinese Communist prescription for Asian history by Liu Ta-nien are also included. All in all, it is an informative, coherent collection.

The problem of Chinese Communist historiography can be approached from several standpoints, each revealing a different aspect of the phenomenon:

From the standpoint of Western academic scholarship, the trends of historiography in Communist China can be studied specifically, in terms of what is happening, as well as judged by the Western criterion of "objectivity." Such a procedure is followed by most of the articles in the volume, and they are informative. There is, however, a difference between judgment in terms of an extraneous criterion and understanding the significance of a historical phenomenon.

At the level of Marxist consciousness, the problem can be understood in terms of two sets of dichotomies. The more obvious one, as attested in the Vyatkin-Tikhvinsky and Liu controversy, is that of Europocentrism versus Sinocentrism. But this controversy transcends the limit of mere chauvinism or political ideology. Underlying such a controversy, as pointed out by Feuerwerker, is the tension of the Chinese Marxist perspective itself, that is, *chieh-chi kuan-tien* (the class viewpoint) versus *li-shi chu-i* (historicism, although I prefer the term historicity). The tension is generated by the attempt to structure a Sinocentric perspective within an inherited Europocentric *Weltanschauung*.

If approached from the standpoint of modern Chinese intellectual history,

the problem can be analyzed in terms of the now-familiar Levensonian theme of value and history. It is a tension of Marxist universality versus Chinese uniqueness, in a posttraditional situation.

In addition, it can be viewed from the Weberian position of *Verstehen*, as Meisner has done in his article. Thus, the tension is understood as the emergent meaning of a Maoist voluntarist consciousness within an immanent dialectical process.

But, it is also possible to clarify the significance of Chinese Communist historiography from the standpoint of the post-Husserlian preoccupation with temporality. The Marxist symbolic order is for its inhabitants an intersubjectively lived temporality. Within that progressing reality the Chinese Communist perspective, never static, is oriented retrospectively to the past and prospectively to the future. There is an intimate link between historical reconstruction and voluntarist praxis. Yet the different modalities of recollection and anticipation must be expressed within existing Marxist vocabulary—a language that denies the priority of time over reason. This is a problem in the intentional structure of the Chinese Revolution (for the concept of intentionality, see Alfred Schutz). Chinese Communist historiography is neither Confucian “mirror” nor Rankian “reality.” It has meaning within the continuing reality of the Chinese Communist world. Herein lies the new task for historical sympathy.

San Francisco State College

DONALD M. LOWE

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN MODERN JAPAN. By *Ardath W. Burks et al.* Edited by *Robert E. Ward*. [Studies in the Modernization of Japan, prepared under the auspices of the Association for Asian Studies.] (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1968. Pp. xii, 637. \$12.50.)

THIS volume, an important contribution to the literature on modern Japanese history, is provided with a theoretical framework by Robert E. Ward, who opens it with a definition of the traits he considers the essential characteristics of politically developed societies and who closes it with a cautious statement of the conclusions suggested for political modernization by the Japanese experience. In between are thirteen other chapters: a perceptive essay on the role of the emperor throughout Japanese history, which opens up a number of questions for further investigation (J. W. Hall); a study of the Genro, which, with B. S. Silberman's recent article, now gives us a fairly comprehensive picture of that institution (R. F. Hackett); a thorough examination of the intellectual odyssey of Fukuzawa Yukichi set in the context of Japanese nationalism (A. M. Craig); an excellent discussion of foreign relations during the Meiji period and of their intricate connection with internal development (M. B. Jansen); an interesting statement on the role of the army as both a modernizing agent and a preserver of traditional values (N. Ike); a highly informative dissection of the process by which the village was integrated into the new national structure (K. Steiner); a review of prewar election statistics (R. A. Scalapino); a penetrating exposition of the special characteristics of Japanese interest groups and their ambivalent impact on modernization (T. Ishida); a statistical analysis of the development of specialization and differentiation in prefectural government

structure by means of a new technique that could prove quite valuable for studies of other countries (B. S. Silberman); a cogent, sharply focused treatise on the growth of legal limitations on governmental power, which supplies an enlightening summary of Tokugawa legal concepts and of the changes occurring in Meiji and postwar Japan (D. F. Henderson); a fascinating description of the *ringi* system of decision making that illuminates the reasons for diffusion of responsibility and the overriding influence of subordinates on policy formation (K. Tsuji); a careful evaluation of the degree to which the occupation was able to influence Japan's development and of the factors that account for what success there was (R. E. Ward); an argument for the critical role of deliberate choice as opposed to a determinist approach to Japanese history (A. W. Burks).

There is a rich diversity among these essays, but there are also certain common themes. There is, for instance, the tendency to push the appearance of various elements of modernization well back into Japan's past, thus making the Meiji changes the culmination of a long preparation rather than a short-term miracle holding out hope for an instant modernization formula. There is also an inclination to see in certain of Japan's traditional values and institutions, commonly regarded hitherto as unfortunate residues, a positive, perhaps an indispensable, contribution to the modernization process. At some point, however, these values and institutions became dysfunctional. Exactly when, how, and why this happened becomes then an important field for future research.

City College of New York

ARTHUR E. TIEDEMANN

THE DUTCH IMPACT ON JAPAN (1640-1853). By *Grant Kohn Goodman*. [Monographies du T'oung Pao, Volume V.] (Leiden: E. J. Brill. 1967. Pp. viii, 242. 36 gls.)

THIS work is a Ph.D. thesis, and it shows evident signs of being sent to the press in too much of a hurry and without adequate revision. The author claims in his preface that his book "will, I believe, provide an entirely new approach to the subject of the Dutch impact on Japan. For here the story will be unfolded as a facet of internal history, and its development will be followed through the various threads of concurrent Japanese social changes. . . . By so doing it should be demonstrable that Japan was far better prepared than [is] generally believed to meet the challenge of the Western powers after the appearance of Perry and to shape itself along the more modern lines which took form in the Meiji Imperial Restoration of 1868." In point of fact, his "entirely new approach" and his conclusions have already been adumbrated by several previous writers, including the late Sir George Sansom's classic *The Western World and Japan* (1950) and Donald Keene's *The Japanese Discovery of Europe. Honda Toshiaki and Other Discoverers, 1720-1798* (1952).

The chief merit of this book is that Dr. Goodman has used a wide range of modern Japanese historical writing on the *Rangakusha*, or students of Dutch (Western) learning, and he deals with many individuals who will be unfamiliar to all save specialists in this field. If his first few chapters are little more than a rehash of the works of older authorities, from Engelbert Kaempfer to James Murdoch, he makes a distinctive contribution in some of his later chapters, par-

ticularly Chapters XIII ("Western Learning in Various Domains") and XIV ("Western Learning in Certain Private Schools"). As often happens with writers of Ph.D. theses, the author tends to overestimate the importance of his subject at times and to let his enthusiasm run away with him. For instance, he draws far too sharp a contrast between the "scientific" nature of European medicine in the seventeenth century and contemporary Japanese medical practice. Inevitably, the germ theory of disease and the cellular structure of the body were unknown to European and to Oriental medical systems alike, but the former, with their heavy reliance on violent purgings and bleedings, were often more damaging to the hapless patient. Goodman does not make it clear that many of the works that he discusses, such as those of Honda Toshiaki, were not published during the lifetimes of their authors and so exercised a very restricted influence (in some instances, perhaps, none at all). The inclusion of Sino-Japanese characters with all proper names is a welcome feature of the book, but the lack of an index is inexcusable, and the map of Nagasaki at the end is reproduced, without the slightest acknowledgment, from Paske-Smith's *Western Barbarians in Japan and Formosa* (1930). I feel that Keene's *Japanese Discovery of Europe* provides a more balanced and a more readable analysis of the influence exercised by the *Rangakusha* in Tokugawa Japan, but Goodman's work, used with due care, will be very useful for those who want more detailed coverage.

Indiana University

C. R. BOXER

DEATH IN LIFE: SURVIVORS OF HIROSHIMA. By Robert Jay Lifton.
(New York: Random House. 1967. Pp. viii, 594. \$10.00.)

ROBERT Jay Lifton received his medical degree from New York Medical College. As research associate in psychiatry at the Center for East Asian Studies at Harvard (1956-1961), he became interested in the relationship between individual psychology and historical change in China and Japan. He has spent about seven years in the Far East, and specialists first came to know him through his *Thought Reform and the Psychology of Totalism: A Study of "Brainwashing" in China*.

During field work in Japan (1960-1962), during which Lifton carried out a study of psychological patterns in Japanese youth, he became intensely absorbed in an investigation of the effects of the atomic bombardment of Hiroshima. He is the first person, American or Japanese, to undertake a study in depth of those who survived the holocaust.

What follows is a cool, scientific narrative that capitalizes on extensive interviews with some seventy-five survivors. Lifton's emphasis is on shared psychological and historical themes. Although the patterns take form within the social psychology of Japanese culture, they are distinctly universal in nature. The significance of the truly original data lies in the book's treatment of psychological tendencies common to all mankind; of those within a particular (Japanese) culture; and of those stimulated by contemporary historical forces.

Certainly no novel could open on a more dramatic or chilling note. The reader shares the awful anticipation in the city of Hiroshima, which had hitherto been spared from bombing. In their own words survivors then describe the

"immersion in death," a feeling that continues as the aftereffects of atomic bombardment become apparent.

Survivors' individual and social struggles and problems are covered in great detail: death imagery, guilt feelings over having survived, invisible contamination, and the "corpses of history" (the ruination of significant symbols that enhance a continuity with the historical past). The details of the interviews are often sensational, but Lifton avoids sensationalism by concentrating on that for which he is trained: medical and psychiatric research.

So extraordinary were the disaster and its effects, however, that the author must constantly coin appropriate terms. Doubtless these terms will remain in the professional literature for a long time.

Scholars will find the book's treatment of long-range effects of the atomic bomb on intellectuals particularly interesting. The "creative response"—in literature, poetry, painting, films, music—demonstrates that the experience continues to elude and yet fascinate those who seek to come to terms with it. As Lifton states, "Hiroshima struck me as the only place in Japan where people were still, vividly and articulately, aware of World War II—but in a manner so special as to transcend the war itself."

So great are the political undertones, especially in Japan, of the continued presence of atomic weapons in the world, that the author explicitly recognizes the delicate position of the researcher who engages in study of the effects of Hiroshima. Obviously, Lifton's consistent impression is that there is much to be learned in the experience.

Since publication of this remarkable book, the author has conducted another Far Eastern research trip devoted to work in Japan and to an evaluation of current trends in mainland China.

Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey

ARDATH W. BURKS

KOREA: THE POLITICS OF THE VORTEX. By *Gregory Henderson*. [Written under the auspices of the Center for International Affairs, Harvard University.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1968. Pp. xvi, 479. \$11.95.)

THE American presence along Asia's eastern littoral is as old and turgescient as the nation itself. Yet only in recent decades have American scholars in significant numbers gone beyond issues of national war and diplomacy to study Asian cultures. With Korea, however, this trend has lagged; the Korean War has for the American specialist largely perpetuated his traditional interests.

Professor Henderson's superb effort signifies, one hopes, a lasting shift in direction. A former diplomat who served seven years in Korea, he has written a book forceful enough to generate this shift. His is a study about Korea resolutely Korean in emphasis and coolly dispassionate in mood. Neither Chinese culturalism, Japanese imperialism, nor American globalism is his prime concern; rather, he probes with interpretive vigor and precision the deeper, intrinsic dimensions to Korea's own political culture.

Henderson contends that the crucial forces shaping this culture are indigenous, not external, and that Korea's political pattern during the past millennium

has shown a substantive continuity tenaciously resistant to foreign influences, Eastern or Western. As he sees it, Korean society has long had a remarkable degree of geographic, ethnic, linguistic, religious, even ideological homogeneity. The result is a "mass society" where institutions and interest groupings such as guild, church, class, or caste have been extremely weak; thus throne and village, rulers and ruled, interact directly. Society is cast like a powerful vortex, a "vertiginous updraft" that "sucks all components from each other before they cohere on lower levels . . . to propel them in atomized form toward the power apex." In this centripetal milieu politics is the irrepressible ubiquity where factions, personalities, and opportunism hold sway, and the absence of real differences allows no basis for reasoned compromise. To clarify this thesis, the author analyzes Korean sociopolitical developments from Silla to contemporary times, though his emphasis falls heavily on the modern period, especially the postliberation years.

This provocative study should excite scholars of many disciplines. Perhaps the very monistic nature of Korean society has eased, not impeded, thrusts toward modernization there. Possibly Communism, not the more democratic "cohesion through decentralization" Henderson embraces, is, as the Pyongyang regime may yet prove, the most effective political system for a mass society like that of Korea. Wherever future studies may lead, Henderson has likely provided an indispensable point of departure.

Sources used are extensive and reflect familiarity with pertinent Korean, Japanese, and Western works. The style is clean and pungent, suggesting a certain *joie d'écrire*. But why is there no bibliography? This omission is particularly regrettable in a book of such seminal significance.

Niagara University

ALBERT E. BAGGS

THE EMERGENCE OF INDIAN NATIONALISM: COMPETITION AND COLLABORATION IN THE LATER NINETEENTH CENTURY. By Anil Seal. [Political Change in Modern South Asia.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1968. Pp. xvi, 416. \$11.50.)

A most useful and significant contribution, this work signals the arrival of a new generation in the writing of Indian history. It is useful for its wealth of factual and statistical detail, its comprehensiveness of coverage, its utilization of hitherto untapped resources, its freshness of approach, and its deft and imaginative interweaving of research by other scholars. It is significant both for its methodology and its detachment.

Recently scholars in several countries have been experimenting with new methods. Yet, it is young scholars in England, long the center for scholarship in Indian history, who once again have seized the baton of leadership. Hitherto, new approaches, which focus upon processes of change among peoples ruled rather than upon policies of rulers, have tended to be modest. By new techniques, the cutting edges of social-scientific questions have been "counter-sunk" backward in time, away from flat, contemporary surfaces. But such efforts have been discreet and cautious, narrow in scope, and confined in span. Dr. Seal has attempted the vastly more ambitious, complicated, and difficult task of do-

ing for much of British India—for the three presidencies—what many have tried for much smaller areas, such as districts and localities. He is attempting, moreover, to do this for much longer reaches of time. (As one of several projected volumes, this book covers the period from 1870 to 1888.)

In describing and accounting for changes in attitudes and actions of elite groups over most of British India, Seal looks at the social roots of each embryonic and newly emerging political organization. At the very time when those processes of social integration and political unification, which had begun a century before, were culminating in organized political activity on an all-India scale, divisive forces were also beginning to emerge. These, if left unchecked, would ruin that very union—whether “imperial” or “national”—which had been constructed. The author does not limit his concern to politicians, civil servants, and governors, with their interminable wrangling over policy. Rather, he gives attention to social structure and movement, to those forces that push the pistons of political change. He examines the social divisions, castes, communities, language groups, and newly mounting pressures inside the presidencies of Madras, Bombay, and Bengal: in short, those forces that prompted organizing the Indian National Congress and later prompted Muslim leaders to break away. Most of all, he analyzes those “Indians” who composed the only coherent force capable of propelling profound political changes, those “who had been educated in the new schools and universities.”

An undertaking as ambitious and worthy as this is so impressive that one hesitates to mention failings, if they must be labeled such. The immensity of factual grasp required and the conceptual difficulties involved are enough to scare away the fainthearted. For all his brilliance, his virtuosity, and his even greater promise as a scholar, Seal is but mortal. He has tried to do too much. His work on Madras, for example, misses some important sources and is short of completeness, especially when dealing with the Madras Hindu Association, forerunner of the Madras Native Association. Also, like many of us, he too is a prisoner to current expressions, some catch phrases and catchall concepts of fashion. For example, in his apparently unconscious and vague use of “colonial,” “colonial rule,” and so forth, as applied to the Indian Empire, he fails to exercise critical precision and imagination; for, by implication, this huge political system, so old in its own imperial tradition, so semiautonomous and so expansionist (with its own “colonizing”) in its past logic, is confused with the fashionable doctrine of “colonialism” arising in the late nineteenth century and with the epithet of that same name in the twentieth. Indeed, Seal himself fully recognizes and understands this underlying character in the Indian Empire; he sees the very processes of “Indianization,” whether garbed in imperial or national idiom, as being those conditions within which British rulers found themselves bound. Seal’s is not the first study to point out those essential conditions of power, those limitations imposed upon the raj by its own dependence upon forces within the subcontinent that were beyond its control. But, in my opinion, his contribution is one of the most thorough and exciting to have appeared on this subject.

University of Wisconsin

ROBERT E. FRYKENBERG

THE FOUNDATIONS OF INDIAN FEDERALISM. By *K. R. Bombwall*. (New York: Asia Publishing House; distrib. by Taplinger Publishing Company, New York. 1967. Pp. xiii, 348. \$6.50.)

CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF INDIA, 1600-1950. By *M. V. Pylee*. (New York: Asia Publishing House; distrib. by Taplinger Publishing Company, New York. 1967. Pp. vi, 175. \$2.25.)

THE volume by K. R. Bombwall has many attributes that commend it to the informed reader. It is highly literate and very well written. It is also quite well documented and rests, on the whole, upon solid and informed research. Where the author's pet theses do not cause him to read too much into the evidence, the arguments are sound and balanced. It is rarely tedious. The topic itself is important, especially in the current scene in which center and state relations have assumed a greater importance than they had a decade ago. Unfortunately the volume was put into print before the 1967 general elections had cast their shadow over such relationships. The background is, however, amply illuminated.

The introduction, needlessly prolix, treats variant definitions of the term federalism. It would have been more fruitful if the author had given us the definition he preferred to work with in a few succinct passages. The next two chapters supply a version of the historical background in which the author finds that there were strong trends toward decentralization in the government of India with respect to the provinces much sooner than almost any of us would have suspected. This of course suits his thesis with regard to the germs of federalism that he finds implicit in various early stages of the constitutional evolution of British India long before the word federalism was in fact put into use. He then turns to an interesting and in many ways valuable discussion of the system of dyarchy introduced by the Government of India Act of 1919, wherein he sees the foundations of Indian federalism emphasized. The next two chapters, covering the period from 1924 through 1935, are, in my opinion, the best sections of the book: scholarly, solid, and well balanced. In these sections he does a searching analysis of the role of the Muslim demand and of the princely states in pressing for a federal solution in league with the more conservative segments of British opinion. He also has a penetrating chapter of evaluation and appraisal of federalism in independent India. Capping what has gone before, this chapter helps to put into perspective the situation facing the republic after the 1967 elections changed the nexus of relationships between the center and the several states. It seems apparent to many thoughtful observers that the next decade will witness new constraints and fresh forms of interaction and that these sets of interaction will test the meaning of federalism in its Indian edition. This volume, which is in a number of ways free from cant, will facilitate re-evaluation of that federalism.

Much less needs to be said of the brief reader by M. V. Pylee. Its type will be familiar to those who haunt the sidewalk bookstalls of College Square. It is an all too short summary of rather formalistic constitutional history, which should assist those preparing for examinations in the subject.

Being so very brief, it tends to skip over topics and issues that might in fact have considerably illuminated the crux of important matters. Moreover, it looks

at the formal and rather legal side of things, at the codes and arrangements as set down by enactments, and not at the way institutions actually worked in real life. Beyond that, it contains more than a minimal share of simple errors, some of which good editing could have removed.

It is interesting that Pylee comes to a quite different conclusion regarding the results of the dyarchy experiment than does Bombwall. Pylee states flatly that it was a failure, whereas Bombwall sees in it important and most promising developments for federalism in India. Similarly, Pylee and Bombwall disagree sharply in their assessment of the Nehru Committee Report (All Parties Committee). Pylee speaks of the report as conceived in a spirit of "idealism and accommodation," while Bombwall charges that a narrow Hindu chauvinism marked some of its leading features and drove the Muslims away from any possibility of accommodation.

In general, the Pylee volume cannot be recommended because of its brevity and its many errors of fact.

Syracuse University

ROBERT I. CRANE

ELITE CONFLICT IN A PLURAL SOCIETY: TWENTIETH-CENTURY
BENGAL. By J. H. Broomfield. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University
of California Press. 1968. Pp. xv, 349. \$8.50.)

THIS sophisticated study illuminates the turbulent politics of the province of Bengal in the twentieth century. Among its many contributions are its revealing insights into the social bases of political action and the interaction of elites, Hindu, Muslim, and British. Its focus is on the unsuccessful struggle of the Hindu *bhadralok*, drawn mainly from the upper castes of Bengali Hindu society, to maintain their social and political dominance after the reunification of Bengal in 1912. Within a rather conventional chronological framework, it skillfully traces the fluctuating fortunes of key groups and individuals, within the Hindu *bhadralok* and outside.

During the first decade after 1912 the Hindu *bhadralok*, divided between moderates and extremists, were generally successful in preserving their special position and interests. They were the leading group in the Bengal Legislative Council between 1913 and 1920, although their leadership was divided over the question of participation in the council. In the early 1920's, however, their privileged position became increasingly difficult to maintain. New social forces were at work, both in Bengal and in India as a whole, which tended to undermine the social bases of their political power. They became increasingly alienated from the English rulers, from low-caste Hindus, from Muslims, and to some extent from the nationalist struggle, which, under Gandhi, assumed new directions and developed a mass base. "The *bhadralok* elite were afraid of the social consequences of a disturbance of the established political order," and they "had no taste for popular politics."

Most of the Bengali Hindu *bhadralok* were cool to Mahatma Gandhi and to his whole approach. Gandhi "offended the *bhadralok* politicians, Extremist as well as Moderate, and they turned against him; but in doing so they lost the support of their own lower-class who saw in this yet another example of 'bābu'

betrayal." They knew how to operate effectively at the sophisticated level of Bengali politics, but their position was eventually undermined at the new level of mass politics.

By the mid-1920's their privileged position was at an end, and, thereafter, during the two "tragic decades" before independence and partition in 1947, the leading role in Bengali politics was played by the Muslims, who were able to work more effectively with the British, and even with low-caste Hindus.

The book contains fascinating pen portraits of leading figures among the Hindu *bhadralok*, notably Surendranath Banerjea and Chitta Ranjan Das, and the Muslims, notably Fazlul Huq and Abdur Rahim, and of three British governors of Bengal, Lords Carmichael, Ronaldshay, and Lytton. It has all the earmarks of sound scholarship and solid research over a seven-year period, featuring a careful examination of documentary sources in India, Pakistan, and England, and interviews with some fifty "old politicians and administrators." It is a clear and coherent narrative, told in a sprightly style. It deserves a place in the highly select list of really distinguished studies of Indian politics in the twentieth century.

University of Pennsylvania

NORMAN D. PALMER

ISLAM AND PAKISTAN. By *Freeland Abbott*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1968. Pp. xvi, 242. \$6.75.)

FREELAND Abbott has set himself a difficult task: an analysis of the inner tensions generated in Islam by social change as exemplified by the history of Pakistan. This commits him to a wide-ranging survey and many generalizations as well as to detailed examination of particular movements, but he has succeeded in writing a book that is both readable and useful. His emphasis throughout is on the responses Islam as a religious system has made to changing conditions and the problems inherent in this process. He begins with the question "Is change possible in Islam?" and, having given an affirmative answer qualified by historical experience and theological argument, he moves on to an examination of the history of Islam in the Indian subcontinent.

Relations between Hindus and Muslims during the centuries of rule by Islamic peoples have often been described under such simplistic and anachronistic rubrics as "toleration" and "freedom of worship," much to the confusion of historical understanding, and Abbott occasionally falls into the trap through seeking clarity by analogies to Western history. It is not very enlightening, for example, to compare Christian treatment of the Jews in medieval Europe to Muslim treatment of the Hindus; the sides of the equation are different both in kind and quantity. He rescues himself from this danger, however, by his insistence on the enormous variety within the conglomeration of attitudes and beliefs we label "Hindu" or "Muslim." The categories are imposed on the society from without, and in themselves they say remarkably little about either religious or social realities. The heart of the matter becomes apparent in the eighteenth century when three factors generate new stresses within the Islamic community in India: the decline of the power of Muslim rulers, the intrusion of the West, and, perhaps most important, the resurgence of Hinduism as a social and po-

litical force. Out of this crisis come such leaders as Shah Wali Ullah, Sayyid Ahmad Shahid, and Sayyid Ahmad Khan, who propounded intellectual responses that were institutionalized in the colleges at Deoband and Aligarh.

The twentieth-century responses, obviously most germane to this study, are treated in more detail by Abbott, and his last chapter, "Muslim Modernism in Pakistan," is the best in the book. One of the paradoxes of the Pakistan movement is that, while deeply grounded in an appeal to Islam, its leaders were, with very few exceptions, men who possessed neither a religious temperament nor theological learning. The most orthodox element of Indian Islam opposed the drive for Pakistan partly for this reason and partly because of their own understanding of the mission of Islam to win all of India, not just an area where modernizing Muslims could create a rival state to India. In his final pages, Abbott's discussion of the search for reconciliation between the opposing concepts of Islamic community and modern statehood serves as a guide to some of the tensions, creative as well as destructive, that make Pakistan a laboratory for the study of the social role of religion in the modern world.

Columbia University

AINSLIE T. EMBREE

A HISTORY OF MODERN MALAYA. By *K. G. Tregonning*. [History of Modern South-East Asia Series.] (New York: David McKay Company. 1967. Pp. 339. \$5.95.)

FROM his long and profound experience in Malaya, Kenneth Tregonning has drawn an excellent portrait of modern Malay history. After three survey chapters of the premodern period that contain "much to record" but "little that can be claimed to be pertinent today," Tregonning launches into discussions of the British entry into Penang, Singapore, and the peninsula as a whole; the social and economic changes attendant upon the presence of the British; the massive inflow of Chinese immigrants; the impact of World War II on the peninsula; subsequent moves for independence; and the creation of Malaysia by addition of the Borneo territories.

This is a lively history; it has the personal voice of the engaging and engaged professor in the lecture hall. Tregonning makes strong positive statements. Penang, he says, "was founded purely for commercial purposes"; "it was never a British naval base." Singapore, a port without coal ("as useless as a ship without a bottom"), would never have survived as a great port in the steamship age had it not been blessed by a geological fault that created an abrupt drop of the land into the deep sea; this is now "New Harbour." On Swettenham ("a greater builder than an architect") he levels the charge that, in giving Malaya "a collection of initials" rather than a real federation, he was responsible "for the failure to create the framework of a nation." Some of his observations can be challenged, but he keeps the reader reading, and he does focus on essential features of Malaya's historical development and does not bury the reader in masses of irrelevant detail.

University of Hawaii

WALTER F. VELLA

MALAYSIA: PROSPECT AND RETROSPECT. THE IMPACT AND AFTERMATH OF COLONIAL RULE. By *Richard Allen*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1968. Pp. xiv, 330. \$7.75.)

THIS most recent in a succession of histories of Malaya that have appeared in the last few years has an advantage over its predecessors. Since it was written at a later date than they were, it includes a few pages on developments in Malaya to the middle of 1967. In the preface the author states that he is writing for the interested public and for American and British students who may use the volume as a textbook. The history of Malaya prior to the Japanese invasion is based on the reading of some but by no means all of the authoritative writers on the subject. The author spent a year in Southeast Asia on research grants, and his history of recent events is based in part on his interviews with prominent Malaysians and Indonesians. The account deals almost entirely with political history, and references to economic developments are only occasional and incomplete. The chapters on the history of Malaya prior to the Japanese invasion are sketchy and at times incorrect, but events since 1945 are described more fully and accurately.

The author's strong views on Sukarno's confrontation and its aftermath are expressed in such vague and general terms that a correct appraisal of them is impossible. One may question, for instance, whether the cost of the military assistance that Britain gave Malaysia more than offset all the profits it derived from its trade and its investments in tin and rubber. Since absolutely no figures are given to substantiate this statement, however, it remains an unproven generality. The author also states that the dismay caused in Malaysia and Singapore by the announcement that the British forces would be withdrawn and the bases dismantled was "largely allayed" by the assurance that it would honor its obligations by flying out a fully prepared force stationed in Britain. It has been pointed out that Britain had no airfields in the Middle East and beyond and that the Japanese invasion had shown the uselessness of soldiers fresh from England who had never been acclimatized to the tropics.

Wolfville, Nova Scotia

LENNOX A. MILLS

Americas

THE COMPARATIVE APPROACH TO AMERICAN HISTORY. Edited by *C. Vann Woodward*. (New York: Basic Books. 1968. Pp. xiv, 370. \$6.50.)

IN this interesting, wide-ranging, and generally admirable volume, twenty-two scholars representative of the most respected authorities in the American historical profession re-examine selected aspects of American history, employing what must be very loosely characterized as a "comparative approach." Under the editorship of C. Vann Woodward, who supplies the introductory and concluding essays, the individual authors deal with such standard topics as the American Revolution, the frontier, slavery, political parties, the Great Depression, and the cold war, as well as with such phenomena as mobility, urbanization, industrialization, socialism, and imperialism. The essays were prepared originally for a

series of Voice of America broadcasts, and the comparative approach was chosen to suggest to foreign audiences what in the American experience might be relevant to their own histories.

Despite their brevity, the essays are almost uniformly of good quality, combining intelligent summary with sensitive perception. Some, notably those by Peter Gay, John Higham, David M. Potter, Eric McKittrick, and Arno J. Mayer, advance provocative interpretations that may well stimulate new lines of investigation. The volume as a whole should find favor as supplementary reading in American history courses, and it can be recommended to professional specialists as well.

For those who turn to the book hoping to discover a "breakthrough" in the application of the methodology of comparative history, the reactions will be mixed. Several authors obviously paid little heed to the injunction that they were to emphasize comparisons. For most of the others, there was a pronounced tendency to use the comparative approach to identify what was distinctive, or even unique, in the American past. Indeed, it is striking how high a proportion of the authors arrives at the conclusion that the American version of a particular phenomenon was unique. Having arrived at that familiar juncture, several proceed to propose hypotheses to explain the observed uniqueness, applying with varying degrees of rigor the canons of the comparative method. Incidentally, it is noteworthy that the preponderance of the authors are benign in their evaluations of the American experience; none reflect the severely critical attitudes that are in vogue with the representatives of the New Left.

Comparative history in the sense in which Marc Bloch conceived of it is scarcely represented in this volume. But by adopting with varying degrees of conviction and expertness a comparative frame of reference, the authors have succeeded in viewing American history from fresh perspectives, have in consequence presented us with new insights, and in some instances have advanced hypotheses that others may be inspired to test through formal comparative analysis.

Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey

RICHARD P. McCORMICK

HISTORICAL WRITING IN AMERICAN CULTURE. Volume I. By *Bert James Loewenberg*. [Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, Publication Number 301. Comisión de Historia, Number 114. Historiografías, Number 8.] (México, D. F.: [the Instituto.] 1968. Pp. 345.)

THIS book is the seventh in a series of historiographical studies sponsored by the Commission on History of the Pan American Institute of Geography and History. Previous volumes dealt with the historiography of Latin American countries—Haiti, the British West Indies, Ecuador, Brazil (two volumes), Paraguay, and Cuba.

The scope and substance of Loewenberg's detailed narrative are conditioned by his broad interpretation of "historiography." Defining it as "the cumulative appraisal and reappraisal of historical knowledge," he includes among the appraisers those who usually are regarded as actors in the historical drama rather than its authors. "Spanish monks during the period of American beginning

are as often historians as priests," he writes in a representative passage. "Explorers, like English ministers, fulfill multiple roles, among them the role of historian." Loewenberg's sweeping definition of historical writing and his attempt to place its practitioners in historical perspective combine to make this book an interpretive essay on early American history as well as a historiographical survey. The first of a projected two-volume work, it provides an informative summary of what contemporaries wrote about the history of their times from the fifteenth to the mid-nineteenth century and the author's own observations on such subjects as the nature of New England Puritanism, the meaning of the American Revolution for subsequent United States and Western history, and the development of American nationalism.

Dating "the historiography of America" from Christopher Columbus, Loewenberg examines the work of such prominent authors as Bartolomé de las Casas, John Rastell, Richard Eden, and Richard Hakluyt and the literary records of the exploits of explorers like Hernando Cortés, Ferdinand Magellan, Samuel de Champlain, and John Cabot, men whose "prodigious feats . . . belong as much to historiography as to history." His two chapters on "History and Historians in the British Dominions Beyond the Seas, 1607-1763," include a description of original narratives of colonization, promotional literature, and the work of autobiographers and chroniclers, Pilgrim, Puritan, and Anglican.

The book as a whole is not cemented by any central theme, but rather consists of three distinct parts: the colonial era; the American Revolution; notable historians, Sparks, Bancroft, Hildreth, Prescott, Motley, and Parkman, of the first half of the nineteenth century. Of these, only the section on the American Revolution is unified by a major thesis, and it is, largely for that reason, the most interesting and important of the book. To Loewenberg, "the Revolution is central to American historical writing as it is central to American development." It "shattered the complacency of Western Europe," underscored that uniqueness of the American experiment which "is the source of American ideals," and promoted the struggle for democratic freedoms, a fight that "constitutes in a large and very important sense the history of the United States." Although Loewenberg joins the company of other distinguished historians in arguing that the main issue of the revolutionary, Confederation, and early national periods was "democracy," this thesis, as historical scholarship of the past decade has made abundantly clear, is subject to so many exceptions, qualifications, and reservations as to be virtually meaningless.

Unfortunately, the volume has no index.

Lafayette College

JACOB E. COOKE

CHEYENNE MEMORIES. By *John Stands In Timber* and *Margot Liberty*.

With the assistance of *Robert M. Utley*. [Yale Western Americana Series, Number 17.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1967. Pp. xv, 330. \$7.95.)

Cheyenne Memories opens delightful vistas on history from the Indian viewpoint. Structured imaginatively to blend Cheyenne tribal lore and history, it yields fascinating content on Indian law, miracles, tribal societies, cultural conflict,

martial exploits, and Cheyenne icons (Sacred Arrows and Sacred Medicine Hat). Cheyenne tribal history is told in a simple, straightforward manner with a delicate frankness; no anthropological or clinical analyses intrude. Its scope is from legendary times into the reservation years.

The substance of *Cheyenne Memories* is derived from oral tradition and history furnished by Cheyenne tribal historian John Stands In Timber. It was taken on a tape recorder by Margot Liberty, who states that in editing the tapes the "aim . . . was to keep as closely as possible to John's own speech." In approach the editor said "the stories have been kept simple, and some small and lovely 'errors' characteristic of the old man have been retained."

Cheyenne Memories may contain material never told before concerning the Battle of the Little Bighorn and could "provide a major new clue to the controversial sequence of events by which General Custer and his command met disaster." Also, the Stands In Timber narrative supplies non-Indian readers "with a rare insight into the history and culture of his people. With one foot in the Indian world and the other in the white world, he understands and can communicate with both."

The Cheyenne historian's performance demonstrates primitive response and compensation for lack of a written language. Only one endowed with a keen, retentive mind and a high sense of responsibility could have qualified as keeper of the tribal traditions, lore, experiences, and events.

Besides the evident value of the content of this work, it is timely. Oral history is receiving wider acceptance. Recently a national oral history organization was formed, and regional, local, and special oral history enterprises including the Doris Duke Indian History Project have been established. In this context, *Cheyenne Memories* is a model. It demonstrates the dimensions of subject exploitation and points the way to making creative use of the material.

University of Oklahoma

ARRELL M. GIBSON

INDIAN LIFE ON THE UPPER MISSOURI. By *John C. Ewers*. [The Civilization of the American Indian Series, Volume LXXXIX.] (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1968. Pp. xviii, 222. \$7.95.)

JOHN C. Ewers, senior ethnologist with the Smithsonian Institution, has written and edited several excellent books dealing with the upper Missouri tribes. The present volume is a useful compilation of fifteen of his articles concerning Indian life in that region, especially the consequences of Indian-white contacts; most interesting for historians is his meticulous analysis of the extent and direction of Indian trade in the area prior to the contact period. Ewers concludes that Indian opposition to white traders was largely focused on keeping out the competition. In another article he asserts that the Indians' attitudes to traders conditioned their response to the Lewis and Clark Expedition. American cultural historians will appreciate the author's discussion of how the Plains Indians came to symbolize all North American Indians and his abundantly illustrated exploration of white influences on Plains Indian painting. Some of the pieces are standard ethnological fare: the bear cult, the sun dance, the Blackfoot war lodge. Gun

buffs will undoubtedly enjoy the accounts of the Northwest trade gun and Sitting Bull's surrender of his Winchester.

Lay readers as well as professional historians and ethnologists will applaud Ewers' talent for anecdote and local color. Yet some of the themes he suggests, as, for example, in "Mothers of the Mixed-Bloods," might well have been explored more systematically and in greater depth, which is to say that some of these brief articles may yet become good books.

Ohio State University

MARY YOUNG

THE ROCKIES. By *David Lavender*. [Regions of America Book.] (New York: Harper and Row. 1968. Pp. 404. \$8.95.)

DAVID Lavender has written more than a dozen books about the American West during the past twenty-five years, some of which are regarded as in the best tradition of historical writing. Characterized by sound scholarship and exciting prose, *The Rockies* is one of his finest.

Although the Colorado-born author has traveled extensively over the region by horseback and jeep and has a good feeling for the physical geography, *The Rockies* is more a story of men than of mountains. The narrative begins with Coronado's forays into the region and continues through the government explorers, fur trappers, Indian wars, the "Pikes Peak or Bust" era, mining, the cattle fever, the age of railroads, irrigated agriculture, and "the new stampede" of recreation enthusiasts. Lavender has done a particularly good job of tying together the separated episodes included in the book. Written with verve and attention to interesting detail, *The Rockies* conveys a vivid impression of the natural and historical landscape of one of America's most fascinating regions.

While the work is not intended to be an original contribution to history, the author has, however, made good use of materials in the Henry E. Huntington and University of California at Santa Barbara Libraries in California and also in many libraries in Colorado, Montana, and Wyoming. Lavender has also included some of the colorful regional folklore. He unaccountably failed to use Morris Garnsey's *America's New Frontier: The Mountain West* (1950), surely one of the most illuminating interpretations of the Rocky Mountain West.

As with most popular or semipopular works, *The Rockies* probably overemphasizes events that have color and dramatic value—the "blood and thunder" of the frontier, the get-rich-quick schemes, the symbols of depravity. Several important developments of the twentieth century are not discussed—the growth of the beet sugar industry, the activities of the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company and Electric Bond and Share, utilization of the waters that run off the Rockies, the uranium boom, the "mile-high" production of rockets and missiles, and the significant cultural achievements.

Utah State University

LEONARD J. ARRINGTON

A HISTORY OF NEGRO EDUCATION IN THE SOUTH: FROM 1619 TO THE PRESENT. By *Henry Allen Bullock*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1967. Pp. xi, 339. \$7.95.)

DESPITE the fact that Professor Bullock's study has been awarded a Bancroft Prize for 1968, it is not the final word on the history of Negro education in the South. The work is more in the nature of reflections and observations on Negro education and life since Reconstruction, and it was written by a brave and independent man with deep beliefs in American society and in its liberal values.

Much of the historical story Bullock tells is already well known. From the slave society of the Old South to the ghettoized society of today, America practiced educational genocide on its black population. His work would have been enhanced if he had not ignored recent research on Reconstruction, or Louis Harlan's important study, *Separate and Unequal* (1958), which deals with the systematized and largely successful effort to prevent the Negro from obtaining his educational rights in the early years of the twentieth century. Furthermore, Bullock spends only a few pages on Negro education before the Civil War, and even there he begins with the misleading statement that "in the beginning there was no thought of *educating the Negroes* [italics mine]." But as we already know from African and Latin American historians, although the word might not have reached these shores, the African was educated when he arrived in America. As Gilberto Freyre has long ago shown about Brazilian culture and society, it was the African who had much to teach the Portuguese.

What is new about Bullock's study is his attempt to explain the destruction of segregated education through what he terms "historical accident" or "sneak attack." Despite attempts to keep blacks in their places, the system was accidentally undermined. This invisible hand, so to speak, gave the Negro educational opportunities that were never intended for him and, therefore, provided a leadership class. For example, the plantation, which became the slave-owners' symbol of class and power, needed a small army of trained slaves to service the edifice, and from this a skilled class of black leaders emerged. Later, the segregated educational system, established to provide industrial training, began to produce teachers and professionals to service the black community. This element would later become the vanguard of the civil rights movement. But even if we grant Bullock's point that there was leakage in the system, we must say that for the vast majority of blacks the system worked, and is still working, against them. For every Ralph Bunche there have been hundreds of "Bigger Thomases." The whites, as Bullock shows elsewhere, knew perfectly well what kind of education they were devising for the blacks, whether in slavery or in "freedom." From the point of the master class, Negro education worked well, and the black community continues to be starved of educational funds. In 1968, the state of Georgia appropriated \$83,000,000.00 for higher education, of which the Negroes' share is \$5,000,000.00. We might question, therefore, to what extent Bullock's invisible hand helped or hindered the blacks.

A major problem in this work is Bullock's own sociological notions which he imposes on the material. A sociologist by training and profession, he tells us that he took from Giovanni Vico the belief that history is "spiraling upward toward some divine goal." Bullock is a guarded optimist about the future of race relations in America, and he believes that an integrated society is possible. He ends his book with some critical insights into the "Black Power" movement,

which bear reading. Bullock, unlike the advocates of "Black Power," believes that America can be saved. But this, like his belief in a divine goal, remains to be seen.

Spelman College

MELVIN DRIMMER

THE ANTINOMIAN CONTROVERSY, 1636-1638: A DOCUMENTARY HISTORY. Edited, with introduction and notes, by *David D. Hall*. (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press. 1968. Pp. viii, 447. \$17.50.)

THIS book does two important things. First, it makes readily available once more the documents on the Antinomian controversy edited seventy-five years ago by Charles Francis Adams and published in a very limited edition. And, second, it includes a number of items never before published that have remained in manuscript since the 1630's. Of these latter, the most substantial is John Cotton's "Rejoynder" to the New England ministers who had commented on his response to the sixteen questions they had put to him in December 1636 regarding the relationship between justification and sanctification. It must be acknowledged that this additional material is for the specialist who has developed a taste for Puritan theological polemics. But at this particular juncture, when the question of preparation for salvation has been examined perceptively by Professor Norman Pettit in his recent monograph entitled *The Heart Prepared* (1966), there are probably more scholars intellectually prepared to appreciate the nuances of this theological discussion than would have been the case earlier. Others will doubtless find it excessively hard going and may be excused if they do not faithfully read every word. For the informed scholar who is, nevertheless, not a specialist in the permutations of the reformed doctrines of grace, the transcripts reproduced here of the examination of Mrs. Hutchinson at the General Court in November 1637 and her trial by the Boston church in March 1638 remain as vivid and revealing as ever.

The editing and presentation of the documents appear to be of high quality, and they ensure that the volume will be the standard text for these materials for a long time.

Harvard Divinity School

CONRAD WRIGHT

INTELLECTUAL ORIGINS OF AMERICAN RADICALISM. By *Staughton Lynd*. (New York: Pantheon Books. 1968. Pp. vii, 184. \$4.95.)

AT least since the 1930's American radicals have been searching American history for a usable past. Though Mr. Lynd is critical of the presentist historiography of the "Old Left," he is himself looking for ideological ancestors. Though his book is concerned throughout with influences, he regards "influence-hunting" as "always dubious." He deals mainly with the radicalism of the eighteenth century, but confesses in his introduction that he is more interested in that of the twentieth. His little book gains from his passionate involvement; it suffers from uneven scholarship and ambiguity of purpose.

Lynd's main concern is to argue that the American radical tradition originates not in any variety of relativism or determinism, but in the doctrines of freedom

of conscience, higher law, and natural rights. Its characteristic goal is a free, fraternal, decentralized, good society. The tradition that culminated in abolitionism was "based on the more radical readings of the Declaration of Independence, which traced its intellectual ancestry more to Paine than to Locke." (The ambiguous pronouns here are significant.) Beyond Paine, the sources of this tradition lie in the radical English Dissent of the late eighteenth century, which reaches back over the heads of Locke and of Trenchard and Gordon to the original Commonwealthmen. (Here Lynd, though he gives due credit to other scholars, makes some original suggestions.) Through Paine and Godwin, the dissenting tradition is passed on to early nineteenth-century critics of property rights such as Skidmore, and through the Quakers and others to Garrison. The later course of the radical tradition is only briefly sketched. Swallowed up by nationalism and militarism in the Civil War, it has to be reconstructed later by libertarian socialists, and still later by New Left believers in free and communal life. The process is dialectical, involving successive coalitions transformed by events, but the libertarian goals are consistent.

It is impossible in a brief review adequately to criticize Lynd's complex genealogies of ideas. Sometimes relations are real, but their importance is overstated, as, for instance, that between the Declaration and Dissent. Sometimes similarities are exaggerated, as between Thoreau and Marx. At times, for instance in his treatment of the old question of Rousseau and the American eighteenth century, Lynd seems to hesitate whether to claim influence or settle for similarity.

It seems to me arguable, even convincing, that the libertarian and essentially religious strain in American radicalism has indeed been the most powerful and consistent. There is certainly something in common between seventeenth-century English radicalism and abolitionism, and some of the values involved in both can be related to those causes for which Lynd is passionately concerned today. Indeed, Lynd is most convincing when his sympathies are most fully engaged, as in dealing with Dissenters and abolitionists, and least convincing when he tries to build bridges to the more hard-boiled kinds of radicalism. He is not, as yet, the Parrington of the New Left. Rather, his book is likely to interest future historians much as the radical histories of Algje Simons and Granville Hicks interest historians now. These contain more and less fertile suggestions and are most valuable as documents of their authors' own times.

University of California, Berkeley

HENRY F. MAY

LIBERTY AND AUTHORITY: EARLY AMERICAN POLITICAL IDEOLOGY, 1689-1763. By *Lawrence H. Leder*. (Chicago: Quadrangle Books. 1968. Pp. 167. \$5.50.)

ALTHOUGH Professor Leder, in this concise and clearly written book, has sought to avoid "the traditional approach" to early American political thought, his method, his sources, and generally the topics he has chosen to treat appear essentially no different from those of previous historians. The book contains eight chapters. It begins with a somewhat exaggerated account of the prevalence of freedom of the press in eighteenth-century America, which, by the 1760's, says Leder, was "absolute in nature." Then follow a half-dozen chapters

discussing in a conventional manner the colonists' views of the origin of government, the relation of church and state, the nature of the British and colonial constitutions, ideas of rights and liberties, and the character of the Empire. Scattered throughout are numerous concessions to "the pragmatic nature" of the American people, "even at this early stage of their history," and many references to the colonists' "Lockean ideas" as explanations for their beliefs, many of which, like that of the Whig contract between rulers and ruled, were actually not Locke's at all. Out of this analysis Leder hoped to provide "a key to understanding why local colonials found it necessary to become rebellious Americans in the short span of thirteen years." But then in his brief summary chapter, entitled "The Ideological Discontinuity," Leder seems to take it all away, for he concludes "that Americans by 1763 were nearer the Mayflower Compact in their thought than the events of 1776" and that their eighteenth-century ideology, being "not revolutionary," cannot explain the Revolution after all. Hence it follows that the Declaration of Independence and the appeal to self-evident truths had to represent a totally new kind of thought "which essentially repudiated concepts that had been developed and elaborated upon for three-quarters of a century."

It is a startling conclusion, not only because it does not really grow out of Leder's analysis, but because it does not come to terms with the latest findings about the nature and sources of America's revolutionary ideology. Leder's central problem is that, for all his desire "to establish the broadest kind of base for some conclusions" about early American political thought, his base is too narrow, too parochial, too isolated from the wider world of eighteenth-century Anglo-American constitutionalism. (None of the works of J. W. Gough, W. B. Gwyn, Peter Laslett, J. G. A. Pocock, J. R. Pole, or C. C. Weston are cited in the notes, and there is no bibliography.) The result is that Leder misinterprets the meaning of several conceptions of political theory, particularly the distinction between power and liberty or rulers and ruled, and misses the incredible subtlety and complexity of the English constitutional tradition, which allowed both the colonists and crown officials to appeal to disparate strains of the same heritage even at the moment of revolution. Only an appreciation of this complicated heritage can explain how most Americans in 1776, even with their invocation of natural rights, could justifiably believe they were revolting not against the English constitution but on behalf of it.

University of Michigan

GORDON S. WOOD

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF THOSE WHO ATTENDED HARVARD COLLEGE IN THE CLASSES 1756-1760, WITH BIBLIOGRAPHICAL AND OTHER NOTES. By *Clifford K. Shipton*. [Sibley's Harvard Graduates, Volume XIV.] (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society. 1968. Pp. 720. \$17.50.)

PUBLICATION of successive volumes of Shipton's "Sibley's Harvard Graduates" is a boon that historians have long enjoyed, each volume whetting their anticipation of the next. The irresistible inclination of early American historians to focus on the American Revolution lends further interest to Dr. Shipton's

biographical sketches of men at Harvard College in the 1750's and 1760's who became participants in the revolutionary events of the 1770's and 1780's. Volume XIV covers 166 men in five classes and 25 who, receiving honorary degrees later, were enrolled in one or another of these classes. The sketches vary in length from a few lines on the obscure graduate to fifteen pages or more on the distinguished or notorious, as gauged by criteria that the editor has developed from long experience and deepening historical knowledge.

Although I have not "computerized" them, it appears certain that in the mid-eighteenth century the largest number of Harvard students, like their forebears, were attracted to the ministry. Far fewer were the physicians and lawyers, while the position of schoolmaster was usually a steppingstone to a more lucrative livelihood. Among nonprofessionals one finds numerous wholesale and retail merchants, a distiller, and a yeoman, but one learns most about the politicians and the officeholders, local, state, and federal, whatever their primary source of income. It is worth noting that these students, with few exceptions, were natives of New England and continued to reside there.

Most abundant, however, is the information on their revolutionary activities, political and military; the situations of uncertain loyalties, as, for example, the timid Whig John Lowell, the tardy loyalist John Wingate Weeks, and the pathetic William Clark, who was converted from Dissenter to SPG missionary, tried as a tory, banished, his estate confiscated, eking out an existence in England, Nova Scotia, and Massachusetts until his death in 1815; and the disruption of normal living, which opened new opportunities for some men and played havoc with the careers of others. Such was the turbulent state of affairs confronting these educated men in their thirties. Perhaps because of the polemic nature of the sources the author treats this period of their lives in more detail than their postrevolutionary years.

Although these five classes of Harvard produced no men of first rank or fame, they include such names as General John Sullivan, Dr. Joseph Warren, Daniel Leonard ("Massachusettensis"), Samuel H. Parsons of the Ohio Company, and Edmund Fanning, *bête noire* of the Regulators, who have won space in the history textbooks. In his research, however, the historian turns to Shipton's volumes more eagerly for information on the less well known, the men of only local repute who may be traced through few or no other publication. Whatever their relative historical importance, he has portrayed something of the character of each one, often within severe limitations of the sources, in many instances with an apt phrase (the Reverend Simeon Howard, "gentle heretic") or a quotation from the records (James Lovell's "strange lurch for obscure irony"). For Shipton is a past master of the biographical sketch—informative, interpretive, and always enjoyable reading.

Institute of Early American History and Culture

LESTER J. CAPPON

THE SUSQUEHANNAH COMPANY PAPERS. Volume V, 1772-1774; Volume VI, 1774-1775. Edited by *Robert J. Taylor*. [Sheldon Reynolds Memorial Publications.] (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press for Wyoming Historical and Geological Society. 1968. Pp. lii, 419; xii, 453. \$25.00 the set.)

THESE two volumes continue the notable project of publishing the papers of the Susquehannah Company, which was initiated in a most ambitious undertaking on the part of the local Wyoming Historical and Geological Society in Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, during 1930 and 1931, with Julian P. Boyd as editor. The four volumes that resulted were reissued by Cornell University Press in 1962. Each volume contains an introduction by the editor. The four volumes covered the period from 1750 to 1772; the continuation of the series brings the record through 1775. The new editor for the series, Robert J. Taylor, is an associate professor of history at Tufts University.

This entire project is unique in that it was one of the earlier efforts at publishing a large quantity of source material in a continuing series and in that it dealt with what many would consider largely local history. Actually, of course, there are significant elements of national history in these local events, and the series does much to justify the importance of turning attention to local history to illuminate further national history.

The Susquehannah Company was essentially a land company. Connecticut, as a government, did not initially do more than charter the enterprise. The work is also valuable as an indication of the very early thrust of settlement westward from the Atlantic seaboard. Formation of this company was a bold move and created a great excitement on the part of Connecticut people who entered with enthusiasm upon a project to claim land and settle new towns in a new western territory. It was much more ambitious than the earlier Ohio Company project in Virginia, which also sought western land at the expense of Quaker Pennsylvania.

Much of the material in these two volumes is taken up with official proceedings of councils of the two colonial governments and with the correspondence engendered by what the Penns rather naturally looked upon as an "invasion" of Pennsylvania. The colonial diplomacy involved is most interesting and significant to the historian of the period. It should interest even the general reader. The problems of colonization are recorded in petitions and proceedings that involved the Connecticut people who had taken the bold step of settling in a new country, as it were. Notices of general meetings and what took place at these meetings show local democratic institutions in process of growth. In a town meeting at Kingston, for example, on June 24, 1773, a moderator was chosen for the day, the problem of boundaries between it and Plymouth was considered, a constable and "Grandjuirmen" were elected. A town meeting in Wilkes-Barre was concerned with a plan for "Better Regulation" for the town, and so on throughout the two volumes.

The editing appears to be excellent and quite up to the standards set by Boyd. One cannot leave this review without expressing admiration for the enterprise and vision of a local, or at best a regional, historical society in picking up and continuing so ambitious a project. Cornell University Press has provided an excellent, readable format for the material. The total work is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of land company operations as well as those of colonial government. It provides significant insight into the frontier settlement process in this country at an early date.

Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission

S. K. STEVENS

THE PRIVATE CITY: PHILADELPHIA IN THREE PERIODS OF ITS GROWTH. By *Sam Bass Warner, Jr.* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1968. Pp. xii, 236. \$5.95.)

BELIEVING that "twentieth century urban America presents a picture of endlessly repeated failures," Professor Warner finds the major cause of this weakness in the historic tradition of "privatism." To establish his thesis, he makes an intensive study of three widely spaced periods in the development of one representative metropolis, Philadelphia. Except in his second chapter on the revolutionary period, where he notes how the war applied some limits to the tradition, he endeavors throughout the book to demonstrate the increasingly constrictive effect of private goals on the economic and spatial development of the city.

The tradition, he argues, produced success where "privatism and community could be brought into harmony," notably in industrial expansion, but proved unfruitful "where privatism," as practiced by the Philadelphians, "doomed them to failure," especially in civic fields. With a skillful use of carefully researched detail, Warner relates the transformation from a handicraft to a factory system of production to the pervasive quest for private gain and shows how that basic objective restricted the city's response to such community needs as education, health, and welfare, and curbed its expenditures for the amenities of life. But to prove his thesis that Philadelphia's failures can generally be attributed to privatism, Warner should produce a control study of one of the cities of England, Sweden, or Holland which he says escaped this blighting tradition. Having seen some of the slums of Manchester, Glasgow, Amsterdam, and even Stockholm, I am a bit skeptical of such a simplistic explanation.

But if Warner's thesis remains unproven, his book is packed with suggestive historical detail on the city of Philadelphia, much of which is revealing for American cities generally. Skilled in the collection and use of elusive data, he has produced a score of statistical tables that portray the shifting patterns of density—ethnic, occupational, and residential clustering—in his three time periods. These tables, generally designed to prove the enduring effect of the profit-seeking subdivision of the land, also serve to define the changing social structure of the metropolis. An excellent chapter on "Riots and the Restoration of Public Order" in the 1830's and 1840's reveals the presence of ethnic and other cleavages that, although muted at Philadelphia in the prosperous 1920's, appear to merit at least equal emphasis with privatism as sources for the city's ills.

Rochester Public Library

BLAKE McKELVEY

THE TRIUMPH OF NATIONALISM: STATE SOVEREIGNTY, THE FOUNDING FATHERS, AND THE MAKING OF THE CONSTITUTION. By *William P. Murphy.* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books. 1967. Pp. viii, 434. \$10.00.)

MR. MURPHY was born in Memphis, took an LL.B. from Virginia and a J.S.D. from Yale, and taught constitutional law at the University of Mississippi for eight years. There he stressed the superiority of national over state government and supported the Supreme Court in its decision on school segregation. He

stood almost alone against intensive attacks by those favoring states' rights, and finally resigned. This book, an outgrowth of his Yale dissertation, his teaching, and his experience, was written in the hope that it might influence some of those who continue to believe in the sovereignty of the states.

The first three chapters survey briefly the political situation under the Articles of Confederation, emphasizing that the states were then sovereign. Murphy presents the well-known nationalist critique of the "critical period," which, fundamentally, he accepts, while noting that a different view existed then and now. He next cites the political ideas of the delegates to the federal convention in so far as they relate to the issue of national versus federal government. Murphy discards as unimportant and irrelevant the economic, social, and cultural background of the founding fathers. A third section describes the history of the convention. He concludes that most of the delegates favored a strong central government in which sovereignty was transferred from the states to the national authority and that the Constitution established just such a government. A final series of chapters on the ratification process presents evidence that the Anti-federalists disliked the Constitution partly because it represented nationalist rather than federal ideas, while the Federalists, far from denying the accusation, insisted that a national government was desirable. The doctrine of state sovereignty, Murphy concludes, has no basis in the Constitution as originally established.

Whatever the book's impact may be upon states' righters or students of constitutional law, its value for historians is doubtful. It is based principally upon secondary sources, sometimes not well chosen, and upon a limited number of familiar primary collections. It contains only matters of common knowledge to specialists; it is marred by small errors that, while they do not affect the major argument, do deprive the book of reliability for scholarly use; it lacks footnotes; and it closes with a very poor index. Murphy omits such material as conflicts seriously with his thesis (he observes correctly that historians do the same thing), and, since his thesis is narrow, the book's scope is limited. Insufficient attention is paid to the men who interpreted the Constitution as embodying a mixed government, partly national, partly federal. Still, the book furnishes an intelligent and useful compilation of data supporting an interpretation with which many historians will agree, and it may serve as supplementary reading in advanced courses.

State University of New York, Stony Brook

JACKSON TURNER MAIN

OSWEGO: FROM BUCKSKIN TO BUSTLES. By *Charles M. Snyder*. [Empire State Historical Publications Series, Number 56.] (Port Washington, N.Y.: Ira J. Friedman. 1968. Pp. xiii, 286. \$7.50.)

PROFESSOR Snyder, chairman of the department of history at the State University College at Oswego, New York, has written a carefully researched history of that city through the 1890's. His work should be standard for years.

The permanent settlement of Oswego began in 1796, the year the British withdrew their tiny garrison in pursuance of the Jay Treaty, or in 1797. Snyder rather naturally treats the events before that time (the expeditions of

Champlain and St. Leger, for instance), exciting as they were, only briefly, because they left no impress upon the future city. Located on Lake Ontario where the waters of the Finger Lakes flow in via the Oswego River, the site soon became a center for the shipment of salt from the Syracuse area to points west. After a canal (1829) linked the place to the Erie system, trade boomed. By the 1830's the systematic exploitation of the great water power available made Oswego an important milling town.

Oswego businessmen hoped in vain, however, for a canal for large vessels past Niagara that would open the entire trade of the upper Great Lakes to them. Their project of a Midland Railroad to the eastern seaboard was partly carried out, but failed to help much. The end of Canadian reciprocity in 1866 hurt, as did the McKinley tariff, which ended the barley trade. Over the years, the railroad age left Oswego with a declining economy.

Snyder is weak on organization, especially as to the settlement period. The writing and the proofreading have also been slighted. One criticism may be made as to detail: it was Marcy, the Secretary of State, who won the great concessions for this country in the Reciprocity Treaty, not Lord Elgin. (See my *The Victor and the Spoils, a Life of William L. Marcy*.) Snyder is at his best on the business side. His sketches of Gerrit Smith, that leading citizen *in absentia*; of Sheldon, the Progressive educator; and of Dr. Mary Walker, the feminist (on whom he had earlier done a book), are also good, while D. C. Littlejohn, the political chieftain, emerges rather well from amidst the compressed political history.

Kalamazoo College

IVOR D. SPENCER

THE BATTLE FOR THE PRESIDENCY. By *Sidney Warren*. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1968. Pp. viii, 426. \$7.95.)

HERE is a running description, taken largely from good secondary sources, of ten presidential campaigns: 1800, 1828, 1840, 1860, 1896, 1912, 1932, 1952, 1960, and 1964. It is demonstrated that the quadrennial contest so developed that the one of 1840 proved to be "a prototype of all future presidential contests" with respect to appeals to the emotions of the electorate, emphasis on personality, and "employment of gimmickry and ballyhoo." To these devices subsequent campaigns soon added the use of symbolic themes and slogans as substitutes for a discussion of the issues.

Any historian familiar with the private campaign papers of American politicians is sure to agree that we have had continuity in campaign practice. For example, in reading Warren's description of the tactics of Lincoln's pushers, I thought of identical devices used for Benjamin Harrison. These "refinements" included raiding other states' delegations, promising plums that their candidate sagely forbade them to promise, stressing unity in the delegation from their candidate's own state, insisting that the initial leading contender (in 1860 and 1888, Seward and John Sherman) had put his views too clearly on the record to secure the election, and employing claquees effectively. These devices are not neglected in Warren's catalogue.

He apparently is aiming more at the general reader than at the professional

historian, who may be slightly annoyed at some short cuts. A weird note system keeps all notations off the textual page and limits their number considerably. Only an occasional observation by the author gets space on the bottom of a page. Brevity dictates imprecision in some important statements and elides numerous significant dates. Broadly generalized observations include a few errors of fact, such as the dimensions of Pierce's popular vote. The nature of the material doubtless dictated continual use of the adjective "frenetic." But these are forgivable faults in such a book. Its lively overview will prove a godsend to overhoused instructors of large classes in survey courses. They can use its plenitude of luscious anecdote to enliven their lectures and waken somnolent "students."

Inadvertent humor is not lacking. We read that Douglas approached Ottawa for a debate with Lincoln "in a resplendent carriage driven [*sic*] by four superb horses" and that Harding (bless his amiable soul) was "guileless."

The author lacks space to enlarge upon the potential hazards for the United States in continuing to cater to the lowest common denominator under universal suffrage. But he closes his narration of "the garden variety of demagoguery" with a warning that the days are past when the United States can "indulge in the luxury of mediocrity without suffering undue damage." The damage from 1964 and perhaps 1968 is not estimated. Here we have American campaigning yesterday, today—and tomorrow?

University of Pennsylvania

JEANNETTE P. NICHOLS

HEALTH-SEEKERS IN THE SOUTHWEST, 1817-1900. By *Billy M. Jones*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1967. Pp. xiii, 254. \$5.95.)

MINERS, cowboys, ranchers, and other colorful frontier types have received more than their share of attention in popular western legend and lore, and perhaps in historical literature as well. Other pioneers, highly significant but less glamorous, have failed to attract much interest. Professor Jones has undertaken the task of rescuing from undeserved obscurity the "health-seekers," and he has written a convincing, well-documented volume describing their contributions in settling and developing the Southwest territories and states, especially during the period 1870-1900. Although perhaps not the stuff of which *Bonanza* and *Gunsmoke* are made, the health seekers' saga is by no means lacking in elements of courage and drama.

Reports of explorers, traders, and trappers praising the healthy climate of the western plains, deserts, and mountains provided the basis for the health legend by the 1840's. The inadequacies of nineteenth-century medical knowledge and practice prompted physicians to recommend to patients, when all else failed, an extended western journey or a change of residence. Successful recoveries, not failures, received the publicity, and the western health legend grew and spread. In the post-Civil War era, what had been a mere trickle became a steadily increasing stream of immigrants, with the tubercular victims of the rising eastern industrial centers swelling the ranks of the Mississippi Valley fever *émigrés*. By the 1880's business, railroad, and community promoters were advertising and commercializing the booming health traffic.

By 1900 a reaction set in. The germ theory was gradually working a

revolution in medicine and public health. With the realization that tuberculosis was a communicable disease, western sentiment toward the health seeker changed from welcome to hostility. The health frontier was finished, but it had strongly influenced population movement into Colorado, southern California, and to a lesser extent Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona. According to Jones's calculations, health seekers constituted 20 to 25 per cent of the total immigration to the Southwest in the nineteenth century and numbered approximately 750,000 in the years 1870-1900. The search for health, in the author's judgment, "was a factor second only to the desire for land in attracting permanent settlers to the Southwest."

Jones's work, grounded in primary sources, ably illustrates that medical and public health history, far from being a side issue, often can illuminate other important aspects of social history.

Louisiana State University

JO ANN CARRIGAN

ESSAYS IN ILLINOIS HISTORY IN HONOR OF GLENN HURON SEYMOUR. Edited by *Donald F. Tingley*. (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press for Eastern Illinois University. 1968. Pp. ix, 167. \$5.00.)

THIS slender volume honors a fellow and friend upon his retirement from the history faculty of Eastern Illinois University. It also commemorates 150 years of statehood for Illinois. These two unrelated facts provide the justification for the publication of a collection of essays that have in common only the fact that they concern aspects of Illinois history. In the preface Dr. Tingley points to a major objective of the volume: providing a selective analysis of the history of the state. In chronological scope, the seven essays cover much of the history of Illinois from statehood to the present, but the greater emphasis is placed upon the most recent period of state history, which, as Tingley points out, is the period about which least is known.

In his introductory essay the editor describes a neglected aspect of frontier history: the fact that it was basically anti-intellectual. In the thirty-year period covered in his survey, he demonstrates the combination of factors that produced this antagonism. He concludes that the reaction of the poor against the rich, the Methodist against the Calvinist Congregationalist, and the southerner against the Yankee was important.

The second essay, entitled "Lincoln's Particular Friend," is an excursion into the vast field of Lincoln lore, in which Professor Lavern M. Hamand describes the activities of Ward Hill Lamon, a shadowy figure often detected in the background of the Lincoln administration as a bodyguard for the President. A third essay, by Professor Neil Thorburn, emphasizes the interest of Governor John P. Altgeld, a self-made man, in fostering higher education in Illinois at the close of the nineteenth century. The next essay, by Professor John D. Buenker, describes the influence of the urban immigrant lawmakers in the progressive movement of the early twentieth century. It is followed by Professor John Keiser's study of the activities of John H. Walker, an Illinois labor leader who became the archrival of John L. Lewis in the United Mine Workers Union.

Dr. Robert E. Hennings contributes an excursion into the life of that

self-described "Old Curmudgeon," Harold Ickes. His failure to gain the presidential nomination for Hiram Johnson of California in 1924 probably is partial explanation for his later career as a political maverick. The final essay, by Professor David J. Maurer, deals with the Great Depression of the 1930's. Maurer portrays the melancholy of those days and shows, in the mirror of Illinois, the ways in which the CWA, FERA, WPA, and other emergency programs were developed to provide relief.

The essays are interesting and valuable not only for students of Illinois history but for the general historian as well. It is hoped that the volume will have sufficient distribution so that students generally may become aware of them.

University of Minnesota, Duluth

ARTHUR J. LARSEN

GEORGE RIPLEY: TRANSCENDENTALIST AND UTOPIAN SOCIALIST. By *Charles Crowe*. (Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1967. Pp. x, 316. \$7.95.)

GEORGE Ripley is worth a biography. A cousin and almost exact contemporary of Ralph Waldo Emerson, he followed a comparable though divergent path: Harvard College, Harvard Divinity School, ordination as a Unitarian minister, growing involvement in transcendentalism and in reform doctrines, several busy years of practical utopianism at Brook Farm and as editor of the Fourierist *Harbinger*, modulation into a final, successful, and respected career as writer-reviewer for the New York *Tribune*. His was a long, varied, articulate, high-minded life.

Charles Crowe's sober, competent study adds much to our knowledge of Ripley's world. His chapter on the controversy between Ripley and Andrews Norton, the one representing an aspiration toward a democratized, spiritualized Christianity, the other a determination to stand fast on an already liberalized Unitarian faith, provides a whole spectrum of attitudes. As Crowe points out, their quarrel spread far beyond the initial disagreement over the significance of miracles; it embraced the relative claims of German idealism and English empiricism, of intuition and formal reasoning, of individualism and scholarly authority. Crowe's account of Ripley's heroic endeavors at Brook Farm and on behalf of the Fourierist movement, based on his previous research, is particularly full and interesting. Ripley, however, remains a somewhat puzzling figure. He never quite comes alive. This is not entirely Crowe's fault. Information on Ripley's youth and undergraduate years is scanty. A childless man, apparently not always in agreement with his wife Sophia Dana, he seems not to have left behind an abundance of personal comment. Nor is it easy, even with fuller evidence available, to combine intellectual and personal biography. And Ripley, though gifted, fell short of genius; many of his observations now have a flaccid quality. In some ways his conduct was more admirable—more energetic, more warmhearted—than that of Emerson, but Emerson's words now seem more vital, more profound.

Nevertheless, Crowe's treatment is not always adroit. He writes clumsily, with unnecessary repetitions (the same quotation appears twice on pages 129 and 130). Despite ample bibliographical guidance, his footnotes are sometimes

peculiarly unrevealing. The reader is not made to grasp the transitions in Ripley's development: how a priggish and not very popular young man blossomed into leadership; why and how he sagged back into conventionality; what he lived on; what his relations were with his two wives (Was the second really too ill to attend his funeral?). Perhaps some pieces in the jigsaw are simply missing; if so, they remain as gaps in this intelligent yet heavy biography.

University of Sussex

MARCUS CUNLIFFE

THE IRONY OF EARLY SCHOOL REFORM: EDUCATIONAL INNOVATION IN MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY MASSACHUSETTS. By *Michael B. Katz*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1968. Pp. xii, 325. \$6.95.)

MICHAEL Katz apparently hates to miss a good debate. In this work he responds to three matters currently controverted among American historians: the uses of the past with respect to currently pressing issues, the relationship of older humanistic historiography to that utilizing the statistical methods of the "new social scientists," and the relative merits of "consensus" as opposed to "conflict" hypotheses in explaining the American experience.

His universe is that of educational innovation in mid-nineteenth-century Massachusetts. He analyzes patterns of social class support and opposition to such innovations as public high schools, the new "soft-line" pedagogy of Horace Mann and Cyrus Pierce, and the new reform schools designed as alternatives to older punitive institutions. The basic thesis is that, with respect to all three, a prestigious, industrially oriented middle class pushed these reforms onto a largely immigrant, agricultural, and industrial working class despite the reluctance of the latter to support them politically or to embrace them freely once they were established.

As I understand Katz's argument, there was a two-dimensional irony in these events. The first, alluded to above, is that the very people whom these innovations were theoretically designed to serve rejected them. There were good reasons for this rejection; the innovations yielded opportunity for advancement to middle-class youngsters, while simultaneously inhibiting the protest behavior of lower-class youth.

The reform movement had a second ironic, or at least ambivalent, quality. These innovations were designed to enhance industrial and urban development while simultaneously shaping character traits made dysfunctional by that development. Katz's argument on this point is untidy to me, although it is an important point. Using other materials and referring to other institutions, Fred Somkin has recently made the same point in his *Unquiet Eagle*.

Katz utilizes traditional humanistic techniques as well as newer techniques of textual and statistical analysis, and he uses all of them persuasively. On the consensus-conflict issue he is a conflict man. On the "presentist" issue he clearly argues that in current debates about the relevance of public education for the urban masses we should at least disabuse ourselves of the image of fallen angels. We have never, he argues, had a system of urban education per-

ceived by urban, lower-class children and parents as being valuable to them in the struggle for status and prosperity.

I find Katz's book absolutely first-rate, and I heartily recommend it to all American social and intellectual historians. Those who specialize in this era (1820-1860) or in the history of American education will, it seems to me, be almost obligated to consider it. If Katz's arguments are accepted, considerable revision of standard interpretations is indicated.

University of Wisconsin

MERLE L. BORROWMAN

PRZYCZYNY WOJNY SECESYJNEJ W AMERYCE [The Causes of the War of Secession in America]. By *Leon Korusiewicz*. [Instytut Historii Polskiej Akademii Nauk.] (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe. 1967. Pp. 515. Zł. 44.)

UNTIL 1967 Polish historians had written almost nothing on the causes of the American Civil War. Only a few scholarly articles, plus a translation of Charles and Mary Beard's *Rise of American Civilization*, had appeared. Now Leon Korusiewicz's book fills an important void.

Though a product of the State Academic Publishers, the study is by no means a Marxian socioeconomic exegesis. It is divided into three well-balanced sections. The first adequately analyzes background material: the characteristics of America and of its various sections, of the Old South, and of slavery. Part II, constituting about half of the book, narrates political events from the Texas issue and the expansion of slavery to the outbreak of the Civil War. The third section detachedly analyzes the course of historiographical writing.

The study is a sound introduction. It appeals to the interested layman and assumes his unfamiliarity with American history. Korusiewicz, accepting multiple causality, presents a many-angled approach. He realizes the impossibility of definitive interpretations; indeed, "the historian cannot be totally certain of his judgments for he does not have accurate gauges of human motives." Socio-economic factors receive considerable but not excessive attention; slavery in its myriad contexts appears the most significant factor leading to the outbreak of war. Popular stereotypes, such as those of the monolithic South, of cavaliers and of Yankees, are carefully analyzed in the light of recent research. Written in clear, unadorned prose, with swift-flowing narrative sections, the study is based on many of the latest secondary works and on some published source materials.

The author presents few startling or original interpretations. Some matters receive rather simplistic treatment: "The Character of the People," for example, in three pages describes the bourgeois ideals of hard work, thrift, success, and so on, as the essence of the American character. Important studies by Elkins, Swanburg, and Boorstin, apparently not consulted, might have added new dimensions to several sections.

Polish readers now have an excellent survey of an unquestionably great event that might help to explain contemporary American affairs. It is hoped that the book will be widely read.

State University College, Brockport, New York

JOHN F. KUTOLOWSKI

JOE LANE OF OREGON: MACHINE POLITICS AND THE SECTIONAL CRISIS, 1849-1861. By *James E. Hendrickson*. [Yale Western Americana Series, Number 17.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1967. Pp. xiii, 274. \$6.50.)

Nothing is more forgettable in political history than Vice-Presidents, unless, of course, it is unsuccessful vice-presidential candidates. Joseph Lane belongs to the latter group. North Carolina-born, he early achieved a measure of political recognition in Indiana, where he might have remained had he not gone off to the Mexican War. His impetuous actions in battle captured public attention, and Polk, in need of a governor for the Oregon Territory, offered the post to Lane. Although he claimed it was Polk's solicitations rather than his own desires that led him to accept the post, it seems that Lane had been pressing for the appointment even before he left Mexico. It was a chance, as the author notes, to settle "where the patronage was and where the opportunities lay." For the next twelve years, Lane energetically exploited every opportunity Oregon provided.

In 1850 the Whigs finally removed him from the governorship, but Lane remained, and within the year he was elected territorial delegate to Congress. He had by then managed to pick up some choice farming and mining properties. In 1852 he was briefly considered as a presidential candidate, but, when this boomlet broke, he easily shifted his support to Pierce. His reward was restoration as territorial governor. He meant to stay, for this time he transported twenty-nine members of his family to the territory. His subsequent re-election as territorial delegate put him in a position to press for Oregon's statehood. When it was finally achieved in 1859, Lane was elevated to the Senate. A firm proponent of "Southern rights," he helped to block Douglas' nomination at Charleston, an act of partisanship that may have precluded his being settled on as a compromise candidate. When the Democrats reconvened at Baltimore, Lane withdrew as an opponent of Douglas. At a rump convention of the seceding delegates he received his reward: nomination as John C. Breckinridge's running mate. His defeat for national office in 1860 was complemented by loss of his Senate seat. He concluded "that nothing was left to the South but 'resistance or dishonor.'" In Oregon, where he returned, his name was anathema; his political career was over.

Hendrickson has done a workmanlike job of putting Lane into the context of his environment. The author has made no effort to invest this essentially minor political figure with larger purpose. One senses in Hendrickson's treatment of early Oregon politics something of the trivialities that must have prevailed in frontier politics. The parochial flavor of Oregon's concerns was matched by the parochial terms within which Lane operated. Representative of a backwater constituency, he was increasingly out of tune with his times. On the eve of a revolutionary upheaval, he correctly estimated that it "means war bloody terrible war." As for Lincoln and the Republicans, his judgment was less prescient. Of them he wrote, Lincoln "is no account. He is a miserable creature, and will be a mere tool in the hands of a miserable corrupt sectional party that will destroy and break the Country." Years later, long in retirement, he remained a Democrat

of the states' rights school, who accepted the results of the war, well aware that he had no future.

Columbia University

JAMES P. SHENTON

THE WANING OF THE OLD SOUTH CIVILIZATION, 1860-1880's. By *Clement Eaton*. [Mercer University Lamar Memorial Lectures, Number 10.] (Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1968. Pp. xii, 195. \$4.75.)

THE stated purpose of this volume is "to explore the currents of social and cultural life" in the Old South as they flowed and waned through the Civil War and the twenty years that followed. The quest begins with the creation of two historical mosaics. Bits gathered from diaries, travelers' accounts, contemporary writings, and documents are pieced together to portray the ways and values of "the Southern Folk" and of the "Southern Planter Aristocracy" as they existed in 1860. Neither picture alters the generally accepted interpretations.

The plain rural element, ranging from yeoman farmers to "poor whites," are shown to have been deeply religious, much given to violence, and as a rule decidedly race conscious. They relied on home remedies, found their own amusements, dressed in homespuns, and seldom secured more than a smattering of education. Alexander H. Stephens, "son of a poor slaveless farmer," illustrates in his homely ways and rise to fame both the characteristics and the fluidity of this segment of southern society.

The planter aristocracy, comparatively small in numbers, lived on the better lands, built spacious houses, had their libraries, their horses, and their slaves. Some travelers described them as "chivalrous, high-minded, warm and generous with friends, but malignant and bitter as enemies." Others found them haughty, intolerant of dissent, and lacking in respect for discipline. Modern scholars have largely destroyed the idea that the aristocrat dominated southern politics in the ante bellum period and have shown that he had yielded to "those ambitious men who came up from the ranks."

This Old South "did not create a high culture in literature or the fine arts." Only in the person of Charles Gayarré, the Creole historian of Louisiana, did the section produce a scholar who could be compared with such northern historians as Bancroft and Prescott. Even he owed more to the French traditions that lingered in his Louisiana than to the cotton aristocracy. The hard fact was that "the literary man, the artist, and the teacher were not appreciated" in this Old South.

The coming of the Civil War did not greatly alter this situation. Most southerners expected a short war and, with independence, the flowering of a literature such as Ireland had experienced after obtaining its independence. It never came. After a brief period of gaiety and excitement, in which the theater and the publishing business flourished, war needs took over, and even the patriotic burst of song and verse that came at the beginning died down. Only the poems of Henry Timrod had permanent merit.

In defeat the southern people were too occupied with material and social

problems to do more than accept what was necessary and to retain what they could of the old. The result was a reluctant acceptance of military and political control, no feeling of guilt because of slavery, and a firm belief that defeat had come because the North had used immigrant and Negro troops. The old aristocracy suffered most as slavery and the plantation systems yielded, but the values of the lesser folk in the rural and small communities changed little.

The actual "waning of the Old South civilization" came only as the urban-industrial revolution invaded the section. Then the "old-line Whigs" gained control, the cult of "the Lost Cause weakened, and Northern sentiment permitted southerners to deal with the Negro as they might wish." Then the "New South" emerged.

This volume fails to make clear its stated purpose largely because of the desire to crowd the narrative with raw source material; a book of only 171 pages requires 14 single-spaced pages of footnotes. Interpretation loses out to a display of patient and exhaustive research.

University of Chicago

AVERY CRAVEN

CELTS, CATHOLICS & COPPERHEADS: IRELAND VIEWS THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR. By *Joseph M. Hernon, Jr.* ([Columbus:] Ohio State University Press. 1968. Pp. viii, 150. \$6.25.)

THE study of public opinion must be the most protean of all historical subjects, and perhaps the best way of making the subject yield is still for a "man skilled in all ways of contending" to get a good grip and simply hold on. In this work Joseph M. Hernon, Jr., does just that, and the result is not only a prophetic dip into the future but an illuminating and provocative look at the past.

Would you believe that most public opinion in Ireland, Nationalist as well as West British, favored the Confederacy? Would you believe that the great moral issue of slavery mattered little to the Irish? Would you believe that the sacred cause of the Union mattered even less? Those of us who were nurtured on the noble and patriotic Irish-American myth certainly would not, and might even break your head if you had the temerity to insist on saying so. Did not thousands of Irishmen die, and hundreds of thousands serve, in defense of the Union? Did not the English favor the Confederacy? (Everyone knows that an Irishman naturally and always stands on the opposite side in relation to an Englishman.) Was not the great O'Connell himself the most rigorous and uncompromising of abolitionists? Had not the Irish peasant found his dignity as well as a happy haven in the freedom and equality of the great American Republic?

After Hernon's systematic revision, alas, there is little left of our cherished Irish-American myth. Not only were there thousands of Irish lives given in defense of the Union, but there were also thousands sacrificed in the attempt to establish the Confederacy. This American bloodbath caused a general revulsion of feeling in Ireland, where the cost was counted in casualties rather than in ground gained. Furthermore, many Irish were very much aware that England's difficulty was not necessarily Ireland's opportunity. They understood that, if war

should break out with the United States, they would be the ones who would bear a disproportionate share in the paying and dying for that war. Then, too, there was no necessary empathy, let alone sympathy, between Irish serf and southern slave, and without the great "Liberator" to assert that there was, those Irish leaders who inherited his mantle preferred to stick to opportunity rather than to principle. Finally, most Irishmen found themselves in a "Union" from which they were determined to secede, and the Confederate analogy was too patent to be overborne by either rational or even moral considerations.

For these reasons and more, then, public opinion in Ireland favored the Confederate cause. Only a small band of Irish radicals stood in the light of John Bright on the side of the Union and against slavery. And it is here that Hernon is most interesting and original. He argues that, during the American Civil War, the radicals, Irish and English, found that in upholding the democratic federal republic they were preserving that kind of political and moral instrument that would extend individual freedom, ensure human dignity, and eventually help regenerate all mankind. In the American catharsis, Hernon suggests, is to be found the genesis of what was to become in another generation in England the radical fixation on the "Imperial Idea." In a word, the "Manifest Destiny" of a federal American empire would soon find its counterpart in the "Greater Britain" of Sir Charles Dilke, and the imperial vision of Joseph Chamberlain. If Hernon is right, therefore, and I suspect that he is, he has provided us not only with valuable insight into the nature of that apparent contradiction in terms—a democratic imperialist—but he has also usefully complicated the moral dimension of imperialism for everyone who is not yet utterly cynical about the uses of power.

University of Chicago

EMMET LARKIN

MONEY AND AMERICAN SOCIETY, 1865-1880. By *Walter T. K. Nugent*. (New York: Free Press. 1968. Pp. xv, 336.)

THIS book appears to be a considerably expanded version of Nugent's *The Money Question during Reconstruction* (1967). The title of the earlier work was in my opinion unsatisfactory, and this one is equally so. Since Nugent makes a praiseworthy and generally successful attempt to deal with the complexities of the money issue in Europe and the United States during these years, it would have been more accurate to title this work "Money and Western Society, 1865-1880." It is indeed in elucidating the interactions between monetary philosophies such as gold monometallism and international bimetalism on the one hand and nationalistic rivalries on the other that this book makes its chief contribution.

Except for the concept of rhetoric that he employs, Nugent has little to say that is new about the money question in the United States prior to 1873. These chapters are well researched and generally well written, but the treatment of the years 1865-1873 is essentially a good synthesis rather than an attempt to break new ground. In dealing with the silver question and particularly with the "Crime of '73," however, Nugent says much that is useful and important. He shows beyond much doubt that important personages such as Sherman, Boutwell,

and Linderman were anxious to demonetize silver because they were well aware of what the switch to gold by several European countries, combined with the great discoveries in the American West, would do to its price. The significant parts of this story were presented by Nugent in his earlier work, and the substance of it was first set forth in a paper and article by Allen Weinstein, but the treatment of it in this work is the fullest yet. The conventional textbook appraisal of the "Crime of '73" will definitely have to be revised.

Nugent takes pains to exonerate Sherman, Boutwell, and others who were instrumental in demonetizing silver of any personal selfishness in the matter since, as he says, "If any turpitude was involved, there is no evidence of it." He argues that they were not interested in protecting the creditor class but rather the public interest which required the protection of public credit. On the other hand, he points out that in France high government officials "as good as admitted . . . that their chief aim in demonetizing silver was to protect creditors. . . ." In this case are we to assume that the American officials and politicians were more moral than the French? Such quibbles are less than useless. The fact is that the chief actors in both countries were faithful representatives of the creditor class. Whether they personally owned bonds or not is irrelevant. In their own minds the interests of creditors and the public interest were virtually indistinguishable.

This book sets forth the thesis that the year 1873 marked a watershed in the evolution of attitudes toward the money question. In the 1865-1873 period Nugent finds the acceptance of a rhetoric of consensus emphasizing "Civilization, law, a set of economic principles, the belief that society was harmonious, and that producers were good people. . . ." The economic cataclysm of 1873, however, brought in its train a shift from the "rhetoric of social harmony" to the "rhetoric of social combat." Unfortunately it is not possible to do justice either to Nugent's view of the matter or my own in a short review. No doubt there was a diminishing rhetorical consensus in the years 1873-1880. I think, however, that Nugent overestimates the degree of consensus that prevailed prior to 1873 and the amount of its diminution thereafter. In the long view one of the most remarkable facts of late nineteenth-century American history may well be that citizens chose to analyze, moralize, and polemicize about social ills in terms of the form, volume, and functions of money. European Marxists always found this obsession with money absurd. It can only be explained in terms of the continuing American devotion to the concept of social mobility and recognition that access to money and credit had since colonial times been the way that the avenue to material success had been kept open. In this sense the argument over greenbacks and free silver in the late nineteenth century was part and parcel of a distinctly American tradition. It is as legitimate, I think, to underline the continuity of the tradition in the post-Civil War decades as to emphasize, as Nugent does, the diminution of the rhetoric of consensus.

Nugent has raised many issues such as this, which require fuller discussion. This book demonstrates fully the progress that has been made in recent years toward a better understanding of the subtleties of the money question in post-Civil War America.

George Washington University

ROBERT P. SHARKEY

JOHN MILTON GREGORY AND THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS.

By *Harry A. Kersey, Jr.* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1968. Pp. ix, 252. \$7.95.)

THIS sketchy biography surveys the educational leadership of John Milton Gregory (1822-1898), principally as first "Regent" of the Illinois Industrial University (now the University of Illinois) from 1867 to 1880. In earlier years, here inadequately analyzed, Gregory had been a Baptist minister, teacher, editor of an educational journal, Michigan's superintendent of public instruction from 1859 to 1864, and president of the Baptist college at Kalamazoo. Kersey appraises him as "not one of the seminal thinkers" of nineteenth-century educational reform, "more a publicist than a philosopher, an administrator rather than an originator." Here, obviously, is the opportunity for an illuminating comparative study, which the author has not really grasped. Gregory's efforts in Illinois, as Kersey suggests, rank him as a leading pioneer of land-grant education. Launching his administration amidst suspicion of his clerical antecedents and considerable public opposition, he labored from the first to establish a strong and comprehensive university, thus directly challenging the anti-intellectual utilitarianism prominent in Illinois since an "industrial university" had first been projected in the 1850's. While his tenure was never completely harmonious, Gregory appears to have dominated his constituencies effectively, building a faculty (Kersey fails to describe his recruiting), winning respect as a publicist, and, with crucial exceptions, maintaining influence over undergraduates, to whom he granted extensive powers of self-government.

Presumably Gregory's Illinois policies derived from his Michigan experiences; Kersey so implies, but avoids sustained comparison. The Kalamazoo presidency is dismissed, and Gregory's contributions to the Michigan Agricultural College in 1859 are cursorily described. Nor has the author clearly depicted the sources of Gregory's ideas or his relationships with fellow educators. The impact of Eliphalet Nott, Gregory's mentor at Union College, is suggested, but it is based on inadequate sources; little is said of John D. Pierce, his innovating predecessor in the Michigan superintendency, of Henry P. Tappan, grandly prophetic first president of the University of Michigan, who was forced from office in 1863, or of Erastus O. Haven, Tappan's successor, who was evidently an intimate friend. In Illinois, Gregory's changing associations with Jonathan B. Turner, leading lobbyist for "industrial universities," are only mentioned. Kersey's interpretation of Gregory's rhetoric is unsophisticated, and he fails to explain his own dependence on limited sources. Gregory's career is more perceptively treated in *The University of Illinois, 1867-1894* (1968), by Winton Solberg, Kersey's adviser, but Solberg's insights have contributed surprisingly little to his student.

University of Denver

THEODORE R. CRANE

THE CATTLE TOWNS. By *Robert R. Dykstra.* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1968. Pp. x, 386, x. \$8.95.)

THE dust jacket of this altogether excellent book explains that it is "a social history of the Kansas cattle trading centers: Abilene, Ellsworth, Wichita, Dodge

City, and Caldwell [from] 1867 to 1885." The "social history" of a cattle town usually means accounts of cowboys on a spree or of gun fights in Dodge City. While such events are covered in this volume, "social history" in this instance really means that it is a sophisticated comparative study of the building and eventual structure of five urban communities and of the social and decision-making processes involved.

The author's indebtedness to Richard C. Wade, Lewis Atherton, and Allan G. Bogue (to whom the book is dedicated) is obvious. His dependence on social science methodology to get at voting behavior, to measure public opinion, and to ascertain the ethnic, age, and sex characteristics of the burgeoning population of these towns is also apparent. It is clear, nevertheless, from the first pages of this readable and persuasive book that Dykstra is a master in his own right. One can easily classify *The Cattle Towns* as simultaneously an example of successful local, urban, cattle, and business history. Even so, Dykstra's major purpose is to test, first, assumptions and generalizations made by historians concerning town building and urban history and, second, to determine the validity of the conclusions reached by Professors Elkins and McKittrick in their essay "A Meaning for Turner's Frontier" about the relation of frontier conditions to the democratic process.

After providing a brisk account of the long-drive cattle trade, and of the origins of the five towns, Dykstra mounts the evidence for his thesis that town building was a much more complex rational (and irrational) and sophisticated process than is usually portrayed. They were developed by many "commerce-oriented," urban-minded entrepreneurs who saw the cattle trade as "the medium" by which they could achieve "the rare prize of city status." Dykstra's revealing career profile studies of bankers, grocers, clothiers, book-makers, hotel, saloon, and dance hall owners, and editors show just how complex were their actions and responses to the problems at hand. He pretty effectively questions simplistic views of the cattle trade, relegates the railroad to a more passive status, and, as was the case in Gene M. Gressley's recent *Bankers and Cattlemen*, makes the cowboy take a back seat in the narrative.

The author's second thesis is that these communities grew and progressed not because of the collective action of their basically homogeneous and consensus-minded citizens, but because the towns competed with each other while the citizens of a single town were split into rival political and economic factions and were divided by real issues. "The experience of the Kansas cattle towns strongly suggests [that] social conflict" was "normal, it was inevitable, and it was a format for community decision-making and thus for change—or 'progress,' if you will." His chapter on "The Politics of Factionalism" makes familiar reading to territorial and frontier historians, but his painstaking analysis of voting behavior, reform movements, and the changes in the "sex-age" composition of the towns adds a valuable new dimension to the account.

Dykstra concludes that in the case of the Kansas cattle centers, neither the theory of urban growth through consensus nor the Elkins-McKittrick "isolated environment" thesis is applicable. While Dykstra is never dogmatic, his strong stand will undoubtedly provoke disagreement. His own faith that a study of decision making will show us vividly the corporate personality of "common

folk" will probably produce still more objections. Still Dykstra's study represents one of the most refreshing and rewarding approaches to be applied to western history topics in many years for he is asking basic questions about social process and the nature of urban society and what methods we must employ to get at as "total" a social history as possible.

What few criticisms I have concern omissions: Concepts of the legal mind and process, as opposed to the maintenance of physical peace by means of sheriffs and ordinances, are ignored. Further, Dykstra limits the concept of "reformers" (those who put social quality above economic success) so that the drive for schools, churches, and "culture" or the dream of a better life is largely missing. The words "school," "religion," "education," "churches," or "minister" do not appear in the index. I am not at all sure that a discussion of reform, prohibition, ethnic origins, and the homogeneous characteristics of a citizenry can be discussed without fuller mention of such factors.

These criticisms should not cloud the fact that this is an excellent study that demonstrates what can be done if new interdisciplinary methods of research and analysis are applied to local records, which constitute the mass of sources from which western history is drawn. It is equally important that, through his "format of social conflict," Dykstra has begun to put Frederick Jackson Turner's seemingly contradictory frontier traits of materialism, rugged individualism, democracy, and cooperation into a social context that explains how they could exist simultaneously. Maps and pictures of the five towns and their leading citizens add to the attractiveness of this fine book.

Yale University

HOWARD R. LAMAR

THE COURT-MARTIAL OF GENERAL GEORGE ARMSTRONG CUSTER. By *Laurence A. Frost*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1968. Pp. xv, 280. \$5.95.)

THE author of this volume has two specialties: podiatry and "Custeriana." The book will interest historians of the American West as well as Custer enthusiasts. It includes a meticulously detailed and well-written narrative of military operations on the plains of Kansas and southern Nebraska during the spring and summer of 1867. These military activities preceded the court-martial trial that occurred at Fort Leavenworth in September and October on the charge that Custer had deserted his command to visit his wife at Fort Riley.

The content confirms the traditional view that Major General Winfield S. Hancock provoked an Indian uprising by marching belligerently upon the Cheyenne village at Pawnee Fork on the Arkansas River and by burning the lodges. Then, because succeeding military operations against the Plains tribes failed, Custer served as a convenient scapegoat. His military reputation, however, was redeemed with the outbreak of more Indian hostilities in 1868 because Major General Philip H. Sheridan needed the dashing field commander to cope with Black Kettle on the Washita.

The reader should consult Chapter 11 of William H. Leckie's *The Military Conquest of the Southern Plains* in conjunction with this volume. Leckie provides both background and a synopsis that make Dr. Frost's book more

meaningful. An example of needed background concerns the motivation that brought bands of Sioux southward to join forces with the Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Kiowas. Leckie's chapter brings Frost's book sharply into focus.

More serious than the need for more introductory material is the anomalous nature of the volume. Nine short chapters of interesting narrative are followed by an edited record of the court-martial proceedings that fills 150 pages. This record is broken in two parts as chapters entitled "Court-Martial" and "Court-Martial Continued." Three more short chapters with lengthy quotations complete the book. Publication of the trial record is in itself a contribution, but the author, turned editor, failed to assess the evidence. It would have been better to continue the narrative through the period of the court-martial and conclude with an appraisal of Custer as a field officer at this stage of his career. In that case the trial record might have been presented in the form of an appendix.

The book is well documented, includes two maps showing the route of Custer's march and the locations of forts, contains several photographs and sketches, and has an index.

St. Olaf College

HENRY E. FRITZ

WYOMING: A POLITICAL HISTORY, 1868-1896. By *Lewis L. Gould*. [Yale Western Americana Series, Number 20.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1968. Pp. xiii, 298. \$10.00.)

If the political history of a sparsely settled territory and infant state seems like a dreary and unimportant subject, such a notion will soon have to be discarded by readers of this book. The author's ability to present a narrative that holds the interest through a wealth of detail that illuminates without clogging the mind of the reader is to be greatly admired. His success can be explained partly by his decision to focus his narrative upon the outstanding personalities of the time and place and partly by thorough mastery of his subject.

The personal interest lies in the rivalry of two successful political leaders, Francis E. Warren and Joseph M. Carey, who arrived in Wyoming in 1868 and 1869, respectively. Senator Warren emerges more clearly, for his carefully preserved papers form the backbone of the book. The almost total absence of any Carey papers is a severe handicap to the author, which he has been able to overcome to some extent by combing the newspapers for Carey material. Both men were Republicans, but Warren built a political machine while Senator Carey seems to have survived on a more individualistic basis. Warren skillfully tapped the federal government for all possible aid to the development of Wyoming and his own personal advancement, which he regarded as the same thing. By demonstrating the process by which this was done, the author undermines the popular notion of western individualism.

Warren also flirted seriously with free silver, yet he was able to maintain himself in the Republican party. Carey upheld the gold standard with only temporary damage to his vote-getting powers. Both men had important land and cattle interests, and both maintained good relations with the railroad, so that the author has not demonstrated that a lesser political influence was exercised by these powerful interests to the extent that he sometimes indicates.

Rather, he has demonstrated that personal rivalry existed within these interests and within the Republican party.

Nothing new is added to our understanding of the advent and course of the Johnson County War, but the account of the legal aftermath of that conflict is the best that has been presented. More studies of this caliber are needed for other western states. This excellent history should point the way.

Colorado College

HARVEY L. CARTER

THE TRIAL OF THE ASSASSIN GITEAU: PSYCHIATRY AND LAW
IN THE GILDED AGE. By *Charles E. Rosenberg*. (Chicago: University of
Chicago Press. 1968. Pp. xvii, 289. \$5.95.)

PROFESSOR Rosenberg's account of the assassination of James A. Garfield and of the trial of his murderer, Charles J. Guiteau, has, of course, great topical interest, but it is not a book tossed off quickly by patching together old newspaper clippings and trial records in order to capitalize on the current fascination with acts of political violence. It is, rather, a serious scholarly analysis of Guiteau's trial, of his psychic condition, and of the state of psychiatry in the 1880's. It is also a book full of tragic irony.

That Guiteau was insane by modern definitions is beyond argument. Not only did he claim that he acted on divine inspiration, but while he was in jail he wrote a letter to Chester A. Arthur pointing out that his action had been a "God send" to the new President. "I presume you appreciate it," he added. "It raises you from \$8,000 to \$50,000 a year." It is also probably true, as Rosenberg points out, that if Guiteau had murdered some ordinary citizen he would not have been executed. Yet his trial was conducted fairly. His erratic and provocative behavior was treated with extraordinary tolerance by the court. From a legal point of view, his conviction was entirely reasonable given the prevailing dogma, the so-called M'Naghten rule, which held that if a person knew what the consequences of an act would be and that it was against the law, he was not insane.

Still more ironic from today's perspective was the psychiatric controversy that the case inspired: in the courtroom, in the press, and in medical publications. Rosenberg shows that the expert witnesses for the defense were the forward-looking and best-trained psychiatrists of the period. Their general view of insanity, which involved a "broadening of diagnostic categories in mental illness" and a stress on determinism at the expense of free will in understanding behavior, was thoroughly in line with modern opinion. Yet they reached these conclusions by arguments that modern psychology rejects: they stressed heredity. Guiteau, they claimed, was not responsible for his actions because he was a "hereditary degenerate" with a congenital lack of moral perception. The conservative medical doctors who judged him sane, on the other hand, took a moralistic position that modern medicine rejects. They interpreted criminal responsibility very strictly—kleptomania, for example, they passed off as merely a gross form of thievery and selfishness. Insanity, furthermore, was to them a physical disease inevitably associated with brain damage. In the absence of physical symptoms of disease, it could not exist. Yet in adopting a dynamic

interpretation of mental illness and rejecting the hereditary explanation, they were far closer to modern opinion than the liberals.

Rosenberg's discussion of the complex theories he describes is always clear. The very nature of the subject precludes any very definitive judgments, for, as he points out, neither the legal nor the medical profession has even today resolved the conflicts between determinism and individual responsibility, between society's need for protection and a deranged person's rights, in any universally satisfactory ways. Yet this is an excellent as well as a fascinating book, important for an understanding both of the history of mental illness and of late-nineteenth-century American society.

Columbia University

JOHN A. GARRATY

THE EASTERN ESTABLISHMENT AND THE WESTERN EXPERIENCE: THE WEST OF FREDERIC REMINGTON, THEODORE ROOSEVELT, AND OWEN WISTER. By *G. Edward White*. [Yale Publications in American Studies, Number 14. Published under the direction of the American Studies Program.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1968. Pp. 238. \$6.75.)

THE history of the American frontier and the intellectual history of America in the 1890's and early 1900's are set in new perspective in this superb portrayal of the western legacy given this nation by Frederic Remington, Theodore Roosevelt, and Owen Wister. If we look for an explanation of the American character that has given us such a reverence for shooting, hunting, and the masculine "strong men" of our "wild west," this is the book to consult. The unique western experience of each of these men was transferred to a wide American public through Wister's novels, Remington's writings, drawings, and paintings, and Roosevelt's autobiographical accounts of his living the raw life of cowboy-hunter in the West. After setting his scene describing the easterner's changing view of the West as it gradually assumed a regional identity, the author concentrates on his three main characters. He devotes several chapters to analyses of the adolescence of each man and his search for an occupational role in society. All three were born in the decade after the Civil War when the wilderness concept of Parkman, Cooper, and Irving was fading before the advance of the railroad and the emergence of the cowboy. In their adolescence each man turned away from his eastern heritage for a frontier experience. Later, each man became a kind of publicity agent in narrating his experience praising western life. Yet, at the same time, each man in later life identified with the wealthy eastern establishment as a top representative in his profession. Finally, these men came to represent a kind of noble, patriotic image of "Americanism." They fully admired each other, praising themselves for pride in Americans and Americanism. Of the three, Roosevelt, according to the evidence offered in this convincing book, never really outgrew his adolescence in his sophomoric philosophizing about "true Americanism" and the frontier, which he identified with the pursuit and killing of wild animals: "the chase" cultivates "that vigorous manliness for lack of which in a nation, as in an individual, the possession of no other qualities can possibly atone." Indeed, Roosevelt's belligerence, aggressive-

ness, and naïve romanticism are dissected and exposed for critical examination. Remington and Wister were probably less vehement in their notions of patriotism and American frontier virility, but all three agreed on essentials. That Roosevelt became the "moral leader of all the people" in the early 1900's is perhaps a commentary on the adolescence of America that relished a "Roughrider" approach to American foreign relations.

The author's bibliographical essay on references demonstrates that he has consulted a wealth of original materials, printed and manuscript. These are supplemented by a large mass of secondary material. The Yale Press and the author are to be complimented on this attractive book; it makes an important contribution to the understanding of the development of American society.

University of California, Santa Barbara

WILBUR R. JACOBS

AMERICAN IMPERIALISM: A SPECULATIVE ESSAY. By *Ernest R. May*.
(New York: Atheneum, 1968. Pp. ix, 239. \$5.95.)

IN his book *Imperial Democracy*, Ernest May showed that the United States acquired an overseas empire in 1898 in a burst of popular enthusiasm. In his new book he seeks the sources of this popularity and the reason why imperialism ceased to engage public support after 1900. May defines imperialism narrowly; it means only the acquisition of territory. In that way he side-steps, as he readily admits, the broader definition of the term, which the "Open Door" school of diplomatic historians employs.

The book begins by identifying four current explanations for the rise of popular imperialism in the 1890's: Merk's (manifest destiny), Pratt's (social Darwinism), Hofstadter's (psychic crisis), and La Feber's (markets). To these explanations, on the basis of his own research, May adds a fifth: "the impact on America of English and European examples" of expansion.

May's new explanation is not as novel as his method of arriving at it. The first three chapters are devoted to an analysis of how public opinion is shaped, drawn from a study of modern public opinion research and concepts. From his analysis May concludes, among other things, that there is a foreign policy public that is considerably smaller than the general public and that this smaller public, in turn, is influenced and informed by a handful of knowing informants or opinion leaders. May then identifies, from a study of the press in Boston, New York, Chicago, and Indianapolis, the score or so of opinion leaders in these four cities. By closely examining the public and private writings of these leaders, he ascertains the influences acting on them and, through them, on public opinion.

Although May is cautious and tentative in setting forth his conclusions, it is evident that social Darwinism and the so-called psychic crisis were not very influential in moving the opinion makers to support imperialism. They did, however, discuss, if they were not clearly influenced by, the debates over colonies, which took place in Europe, particularly in England (May's own contribution to the question of causation). They were also affected by the need for markets argument (La Feber) and obviously influenced by their knowledge of past expansion by the United States (Merk). May, however, also turns

up the fact that a majority of his public opinion leaders did *not* clearly favor the acquisition of colonies in 1898. This finding apparently presented him with something of a difficulty until he went back to 1869-1871 to look into the attitudes of public opinion leaders toward the annexation of Santo Domingo. He found that at that time almost all opinion setters opposed the move. At the other end of his time scale, his study revealed that after 1901 opinion leaders were again almost unanimous in opposing further annexations. And, sure enough, after 1901 no more territory was acquired. He concludes that the popular support for imperialism in the late 1890's was the result of a division of opinion among the traditional leaders on foreign affairs, a division that permitted less responsible and knowing counsel—an imperialistic one—to prevail. By 1901, though, the prolonged Philippine insurrection and the Boer War convinced both the public and the heretofore divided elite that they should unite once again against territorial expansion, and so the "Great Aberration" came to an end. "A high level of public interest in any question may be due no more to the importance of the question than to the presence of discord and confusion among men to whom interested citizens look for guidance," May observes.

To me, May's method is the most imaginative device for arriving at the influences affecting public opinion that any historian who must work without benefit of public opinion polls has yet originated. Yet it suffers still from the defects of all previous efforts. How is one to show conclusively that there is a direct connection between a series of ideas or events and the opinions held by individuals, much less masses of people, when the persons involved do not reveal, privately or publicly, how they arrived at their opinions? At times, it is true, May produces evidence from members of his elite, which clearly traces the connections between their opinions and the alleged causes, but at other times his subjects are as silent on the causal connections as the anonymous public. Indeed, in some places May himself falls back upon supposition and coincidence for proof, as when he concludes without any direct evidence that the Boer War and the Philippine insurrection turned men against imperialism. But, because no one has gotten as close as May has to the isolation of causal explanations for public opinion, his effort, though here inconclusive, is certainly worthy of further examination and testing.

Stanford University

CARL N. DEGLER

SENATOR JOSIAH WILLIAM BAILEY OF NORTH CAROLINA: A POLITICAL BIOGRAPHY. By *John Robert Moore*. (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1968. Pp. vi, 255. \$8.25.)

THIS is a critical and sympathetic account of a man who was a power in North Carolina from the 1890's and in national politics from the late 1920's until his death in 1946. Moore clearly and coherently describes the major phases of Bailey's public life: his editorship of the Baptist *Biblical Recorder*; his fight in the late 1890's for state aid to primary and secondary education; his public fight for prohibition through local option and his private use of alcohol in moderation; his relations with other North Carolina politicians, including Furnifold M. Simmons,

O. Max Gardner, Robert Rice Reynolds, Cameron Morrison, and Josephus Daniels; his ambivalence toward both Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal; and his political tactics as a party leader and a United States senator.

On these, Moore's touch is sure, his judgments sound, and his contributions welcome. General readers will find especially interesting the many New Deal measures that Bailey, an alleged conservative Democrat, supported and voted for between 1933 and 1939, along with his wholehearted support for Roosevelt's foreign and military policies from 1939 to 1945, despite his frequently expressed fear of the centralization of power in the federal executive. Should some aberrant scholar wish to rehabilitate American conservatism in the 1930's from its present state of denigration, he can begin with Chapters ix and x of Professor Moore's book. Students of southern politics will find, in the sections on North Carolina, a partial corrective to V. O. Key's interpretation of the character of machine rule in the state.

On other counts, the book is less satisfying. With several exceptions, the sources and development of Bailey's ideas about politics and economics are not incorporated into the narrative. In the preface Bailey is a Wilsonian liberal, in the early chapters a Progressive, in the 1920's a party liberalizer, and during the New Deal a conservative. The confusion thus produced is not dispelled until the concluding sections of the book; even then Moore's summary is not wholly convincing. Bailey's attitudes toward Negroes could have been more systematically treated, although on balance he seems to have been a benevolent paternalist when he could and a political trimmer when he had to be. Moore's conclusions would have been sharper and more relevant if he had compared them with the findings of James T. Patterson's *Congressional Conservatism and the New Deal*.

Still, this is a useful contribution to the history of southern politics and to the much-neglected history of the United States Congress in the 1930's and 1940's.

University of Illinois, Champaign

THOMAS A. KRUEGER

THE HOUSE ON COLLEGE AVENUE: THE COMPTONS AT WOOSTER, 1891-1913. By *James R. Blackwood*. (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. 1968. Pp. xxv, 265. \$15.00.)

The House on College Avenue reviews the life of a dean and his family at a small, denominational college in Ohio during the years 1891 to 1913. The dean, Elias Compton, struggled to raise four lively youngsters, drawing occasional inspiration from publications in the up-and-coming field of child psychology. His three boys were destined to have distinguished careers: Arthur H. Compton, Nobel Prize winner; Karl T. Compton, president of Massachusetts Institute of Technology; and Wilson Compton, president of Washington State.

In his preface the author frankly acknowledges that he has presented in this volume not history but the raw materials for history. We have here a tapestry woven of reminiscence: mellow, nostalgic, evocative of the vanished era of the small-town middle western college at the turn of the century. Blackwood

finds mainly positive qualities in this environment. One is left with the impression that the denominational college community of Wooster, Ohio, afforded a favorable setting for child rearing. Then there was the special circumstance of the Compton household, a warm, loving family group living in genteel professorial semipoverty. The liveliness of the home on College Avenue was balanced by just enough Calvinistic seriousness so that everything that was done was evaluated in terms of its service function. The result of these happy influences? Three eminent men.

The book implies that somehow or other the positive values of life in a small, denominational college town rubbed off on Elias Compton's three sons and his daughter (she eventually married a Presbyterian missionary in India). In addition, Compton's methods of child rearing are noted as being an important factor. How valid is the latter suggestion? Blackwood admits that in the case of young Arthur Compton's budding astronomical interests "the parents were more inclined to put on the brakes than to drive him faster. They feared an unbalanced development." As a matter of fact, the Compton children seem to have grown up in much the same fashion as their playmates from the same social background. Their life was not markedly intellectual. The book reports considerable involvement in rabbit hunting, glider sailing, and school athletics. To be sure, it is also noted that the Comptons made a special effort to ensure that good reading materials would always be readily available to their children.

While Blackwood is only venturing to provide us with the raw materials of social and intellectual history, it is still regrettable that in some ways these raw materials are incomplete. We are not told enough to be able to understand the rationale of a mind such as that of the father, Elias Compton. We are not informed about the attitudes that prevailed at the College of Wooster during these years with respect to the study and teaching of the natural sciences. Did this old-time denominational institution assimilate Darwinism and naturalism, ignore ideas such as these, or make an effort to refute them? Data of this kind would help to reveal the early intellectual environment of individuals who were in later years to become noted scientists.

Blackwood's well-written, impressionistic volume is intended, however, to be a personal tribute to the Comptons of College Avenue, not a definitive contribution to American intellectual history. On its own modest terms, it is eminently successful.

Fairleigh Dickinson University, Teaneck, New Jersey

WILLIS RUDY

BOSTONIANS AND BULLION: THE JOURNAL OF ROBERT LIVERMORE, 1892-1915. Edited by *Gene M. Gressley*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1968. Pp. xxix, 193. \$6.95.)

THE American mining engineer has been one of the most articulate observers of the western scene. In general, he has been perceptive, literate, and endowed with a strong sense of history and his own role in its making. Robert Livermore was no exception, and, while no John Hays Hammond or Herbert Hoover in the profession, he has, in this volume of reminiscences, given an able account both

of the life and work of the engineer and of the environment in which he was set.

Livermore was an "average" engineer. Of a good Boston family (his father was vice-president of the Calumet and Hecla Copper Company), he early tried his hand at sea and as a cowboy, but completed his education at Harvard and MIT and began his technical career in Colorado in 1903. Imaginative and fond of outdoor life, he gives some fine descriptions of cowpunching in Montana, hunting and fishing in the Rockies, and life in the wide-open mining towns that he knew so well. His nomadic existence took him to most western states, as well as Canada and Mexico, and, like that of other mining engineers, it was one of constant adaptation and contrast. One job found him installing his bride in a one-room log cabin high on the Taylor Fork of the Gunnison to cook for four hungry men; the next found him part of the "gay crowd of eastern emigres" at Telluride, playing polo and following the social lead of that amazing *bon vivant*, Bulkeley Wells. One moment Livermore could be sleeping in a haystack in southeastern Utah; the next might find him moving in full dress in elite Boston or New York society circles. If he displayed little sympathy for striking miners during the 1903-1904 labor upheavals at Telluride and joined various "Citizens' Alliances" to combat them (once shooting himself in the foot in the process), a decade later, while manager of a mine in the Cobalt district, he fought with equal vigor against one of his own directors.

Gressley's introduction and his epilogue give nice balance to the whole and put Livermore correctly in his setting. The five outline maps are too sketchy to be effective, but sixteen photographs add distinction to the volume. Livermore himself writes graphic, chatty prose. His life was often prosaic, and his accomplishments were not great. It is unfortunate that he minimizes his mining work, yet, despite this, his account will go down with those of Hammond, T. A. Rickard, and Edward McCarthy as one of the standard engineer's views of the West.

University of Illinois, Champaign

CLARK C. SPENCE

THE INTELLECTUAL AS URBAN REFORMER: BRAND WHITLOCK AND THE PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT. By *Jack Tager*. (Cleveland: Press of Case Western Reserve University. 1968. Pp. 198. \$6.50.)

POLITICS & PROGRESS: THE RISE OF URBAN PROGRESSIVISM IN BALTIMORE, 1895 TO 1911. By *James B. Crooks*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1968. Pp. x, 259. \$8.50.)

EACH of these books, in a different way, contributes to our knowledge and understanding of the progressive movement. The first is the intellectual and political odyssey of a leader; it avoids the details of municipal and legislative battles and concentrates on Whitlock's ideas and personality as they unfold through his career and his writings. The second examines in detail the development of the progressive program in Baltimore, issue by issue, campaign by campaign. It makes rather heavy going for the reader at times, but rewards him with a careful case history of progressivism in a leading American city.

Tager's well-written volume shows Whitlock motivated by a search for

individual freedom—in the first instance, from his own rural Methodist background. He found this freedom in the city, first in Chicago, where he was profoundly influenced by Altgeld, and later in Toledo, where he made history as the disciple and successor of Mayor “Golden Rule” Jones. He had a vision of the “free city” as being democratically and humanely governed and giving each man the chance to develop his personality to the fullest. He felt that specific reforms would be meaningless without a reform in the civic spirit itself; hence, while Whitlock the politician worked for the whole range of urban progressive measures, Whitlock the author attempted to change public opinion through his didactic novels.

Whitlock was a complex character. His picture of himself as the gentleman in politics, reluctantly assuming the burdens of government, was belied by his eager and successful bids for public office. Although hailed as a reform mayor, he detested the term “reformer,” which to him meant the narrow-minded fanatic who would regulate his neighbors’ private lives. His attitude toward economic reform was eclectic; historians have labeled him a single taxer, but Tager argues convincingly that he had at most only a general sympathy for the views of Henry George.

Perhaps this very absence of a firmly grounded politico-economic philosophy helps explain Whitlock’s sad last years. He saw postwar America gripped by the spirit of prohibition and political reaction, stifling individual freedom at home and unwilling to assume its rightful role in the world. His old hope for the free democratic man melted away; he turned his back on America to conclude his life as an elitist expatriate.

Crooks’s study of Baltimore starts with the defeat of the Gorman-Raisin machine in 1895 and ends rather arbitrarily in 1911. How does the Baltimore experience compare with that of other cities? The familiar issues are all there: boss rule, corporate domination of politics, the struggle for political democracy, efforts to regulate corporations—especially utilities—and to improve the lot of the less fortunate. But no leader dominates the Baltimore story as do Pingree in Detroit, Johnson in Cleveland, Jones and Whitlock in Toledo, Fagan and Record in Jersey City. Although some individuals were active throughout, Baltimore leadership was changing as the center of reform shifted from one organization and party to another. Like city progressives everywhere, the Baltimore reformers had to look to the state, and there was a constant interaction between the two levels of government. Some border state Maryland progressives, like those farther south, saw Negro disfranchisement as progressive reform, but many did not, and Maryland resisted all attempts to disfranchise its Negro citizens.

Crooks’s profile of the Baltimore progressive—the young, well-educated, upper-class business or professional man of old American stock—agrees in the main with that drawn by George Mowry. But he also shows that as time went on the city machine itself and the urban masses it represented awakened to an interest in social and economic reform, thus lending support to the thesis of Joseph Huthmacher.

Pratt Institute

RANSOM E. NOBLE

TWELVE AGAINST EMPIRE: THE ANTI-IMPERIALISTS, 1898-1900. By Robert L. Beisner. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1968. Pp. xvi, 310. \$6.95.)

THOUGH often attracted to lost causes, historians have largely neglected the anti-imperialist movement of 1898-1900. Unlike the Spanish-American War and the quest for empire, anti-imperialism has not seemed generally to raise significant historical questions that would guide larger explorations of American society. Even the bold efforts of William A. Williams and John Rollins to place the anti-imperialists within the consensus on American economic expansion abroad and to interpret them as advocates and sometimes as architects of informal empires have not provoked much interest in anti-imperialism.

In the past few years, however, there have been a few theses on the movement, including a well-written doctoral dissertation by Robert Beisner, which received the Allan Nevins Prize. A thoughtful, intellectual history of a dozen prominent anti-imperialists, his study has been revised for publication and ambitiously presented as "a key to an understanding of the spirit of the . . . movement . . . [and its] emotional and intellectual wellsprings." Concentrating upon "ideas, sentiments and prejudices" and shunning congressional maneuvers and political tactics, he has focused upon men drawn from the two groups that "spearheaded" the movement: the mugwumps, E. L. Godkin, Charles Eliot Norton, Edward Atkinson, Charles Francis Adams, Jr., Carl Schurz, and William James; and the dissident Republicans, Andrew Carnegie, George F. Hoar, Benjamin Harrison, George S. Boutwell, John Sherman, and Thomas Brackett Reed. Because labor leaders like Samuel Gompers and reformers like Jane Addams had only minor roles in the crusade against territorial annexation, Beisner has excluded them. And, what is more questionable, he has also excluded William Jennings Bryan, Richard Pettigrew, Eugene Hale, Moorfield Storey, Mark Twain, and the many Democrats who constituted most of the opposition in the Senate to the Treaty of Paris. Admitting that the omission of Bryan and these Democrats is "somewhat arbitrary," Beisner lamely explains that, aside from their speeches in Congress and in campaigns, they contributed little strength to the anti-imperialist movement. Yet his inclusion of Harrison, who wrote occasional private letters against annexation of the Philippines but did not publicly oppose the policy until mid-December of 1900, raises some serious doubts about Beisner's criteria.

Despite the common bond of anti-imperialism between the dozen men, some were nevertheless deeply interested in economic expansion. Beisner concludes, however, that most were unconcerned about the economic implications of colonialism and, contrary to Williams and Rollins, that the few who were concerned, like Atkinson, Schurz, and Carnegie, did not make the establishment of an informal empire a pre-eminent value in their opposition to colonialism. (It is possible to rescue much of the Williams-Rollins analysis by emphasizing that the belief of some of these anti-imperialists in the advantages of trade without territory freed them to stress moral and political reasons for their opposition to annexation.) Disagreeing in their economic analysis, the anti-imperialists also divided on the war, split on the annexation of Hawaii, and

could make common cause only in their opposition to holding the Philippines. Even then their reasons often differed, though they were traditionalists who cast their arguments in conservative frameworks and expressed greater concern about the welfare of their own country than about the condition of future colonials. What is more questionable, Beisner finds an even broader consensus: they suspected mass democracy and preferred government by an elite of the educated and wellborn, and they were deeply troubled by industrialization and the extension of American economic interests abroad. Unfortunately this interpretation distorts the thought of Carnegie and misunderstands those anti-imperialists who, by Beisner's earlier admission, sought overseas economic expansion.

In addition to these errors, this volume may be criticized for not exploring more fully three important dimensions of anti-imperialist thought: attitudes toward Negroes and Indians, attitudes toward international law and order and their influence on the responses to the Philippine insurrection, and early reactions to the war with Spain. Despite these shortcomings, this study should be valued as a gracefully written and well-researched analysis of the frequently convoluted anti-imperialism of a dozen men who, aside from Czar Reed, were in 1898-1900 far from the center of political power and sometimes beyond its fringes.

Stanford University

BARTON J. BERNSTEIN

THE CONSERVATIVE REFORMERS: GERMAN-AMERICAN CATHOLICS AND THE SOCIAL ORDER. By *Philip Gleason*. (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 1968. Pp. x, 272. \$8.95.)

FOCUSED on the developments within the *Central-Verein*, this book develops a persuasive explanation of why German Catholics, though predominately rural and *petit-bourgeois*, developed in the early twentieth century a surprisingly strong interest in the social question. Professor Gleason sees this development as a step in the process of Americanization. By 1900, he argues, the second generation had come to dominate German-American Catholic life, and a shift of interest and concern was psychologically important to the new leadership. Furthermore, the *Central-Verein* had outlived its usefulness as a coordinator of the many mutual insurance schemes with which it had been preoccupied in its earlier years. And interest in the social question allowed German Catholics in America to point with pride to the much-praised concerns of Catholics in Germany; this kind of identification was ideologically useful in the continuing contest with Irish-American Catholics. Besides, interest in the social question allowed German-American Catholics to criticize an American scene with which they did not wish to identify completely. The fact that Americans were themselves indulging in paroxysms of progressive excitement legitimized Catholic criticism. In Milton Gordon's terminology, the new departure presented the German Catholics with an appropriate way of resisting "structural" assimilation at the same time that they advanced their "cultural" assimilation.

By Gleason's showing, the *Central-Verein* did not develop a very prepotent reform program. For one thing, it was too comprehensive in its indictment of evils in America: the secularism of society, the public schools, the materialism of

the middle classes, and the separation of church and state, as well as the un-Christianity of big business. The *Verein's* leaders broke quite early with the more Americanized Father Peter Dietz, who wanted to concentrate on problems of wages and unionization. The *Verein*, seeking a fundamental alternative to American culture, usually advocated a kind of corporatism or solidarism. While such notions paralleled developments in German romantic thought, they had little resonance in progressive America. And, after the alienating impact of World War I, the *Verein's* social program seems to have degenerated into a somewhat bitter utopianism.

Though Gleason does not prove that the *Central-Verein* was important to the general history of the United States, he has made an outstanding contribution to our understanding of how an immigrant group moved through the complex process of assimilation. The book is a little short in describing deeds and personalities, but the defect is more than offset by Gleason's analytical versatility. He has studied his sociology well and has made a valuable contribution to American historiography.

Hunter College

ROBERT D. CROSS

LABOR POLITICS AMERICAN STYLE: THE CALIFORNIA STATE FEDERATION OF LABOR. By *Philip Taft*. [Wertheim Publications in Industrial Relations.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1968. Pp. viii, 288. \$7.00.)

A MAJOR chronicler of American labor has produced a new work. But, though it has the usual trappings of scholarship, it is clearly one of Professor Taft's lesser efforts. The book is a case study of the AFL in politics, using the California State Federation as an example. Taft traces the activities, organizations, and personalities of the federation from its beginnings in 1901 to the AFL-CIO merger in 1958.

Among many reasons for writing history, three seem most important: to record, to describe the human condition by analyzing patterns of past human behavior, and to tell an interesting story. If these—together or separately—are the criteria for good history, this volume does not rate well.

The book does bring together material not assembled before, thus achieving at least some worth as record. But it reads like official history, recording primarily what the victors of internal fighting within the federation wanted recorded, rather than all participants. It is a broad overview that touches on all points equally lightly, never emphasizing those episodes that were crucial to the development of the federation.

What is more significant, Taft fails to analyze, and a case study should be an analytic device. He includes a conventional first chapter that usually states generalizations and a last one to summarize and validate them, but he refuses to generalize. What impact have state federations had on American politics? How did the California federation compare with other labor groups? We are not told. Why did the AFL adopt the federation as response to political needs? Taft simply states that there was no alternative. Why not? Even as the history

of a lobbying organization the book fails; it does not describe the process of labor exercising its influence; it never so much as alludes to the rich literature on lobbying and political influence.

Finally, the book is dull. Somehow the author has turned an exciting half century (including anti-Oriental campaigns and a general strike, the McNamara bombing and the Mooney case, and Harry Bridges) into a plodding ledger of one thing after another.

Arlington, Virginia

R. L. FRIEDHEIM

AN UNCERTAIN FRIENDSHIP: THEODORE ROOSEVELT AND JAPAN, 1906-1909. By *Charles E. Neu*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1967. Pp. x, 347. \$6.95.)

THIS lucid, smooth-flowing monograph parallels and, to a modest extent, complements Raymond Esthus' *Theodore Roosevelt and Japan*, which was published about the time it went to press. Neu spans a little less than three years as compared to Esthus' almost five years, and so he examines some episodes more extensively and more deeply. Yet the coverage is quite uneven, presumably because of a decision to summarize matters treated by Esthus in earlier articles.

Neu is more sensitive than Esthus to the impact of public opinion and domestic politics upon Roosevelt's diplomacy, and he intertwines the three with considerable skill. He also analyzes the naval construction program and the debate over Pacific fortifications and naval bases in greater detail than Esthus or anyone else has done. Indeed, the strength of the book is the richness of this section. Otherwise, it is largely a restatement of familiar material. With the exception of the Root-Takahira exchange—Neu argues that Root and Roosevelt interpreted it similarly, but treats the episode too cursorily to prove his point—his conclusions do not differ markedly from Esthus'.

Despite a stricture in the preface against Beale and others for heaping excessive "praise" on TR, Neu's own appraisal, and especially his exposition, is measuredly favorable to Roosevelt. In "the context of his era," he concludes, TR's conduct of diplomacy was "shrewd, skillful, and responsible." Specifically, Neu holds that Roosevelt consistently recognized that the United States' stake in China and Manchuria was slight; that he was more committed to fostering cordial relations with Japan than to maintaining the Russo-Japanese balance of power; and that he feared that the American or Japanese people were more apt than their leaders to precipitate war. In common with many recent scholars, Neu also exonerates Roosevelt from responsibility for the eventual breakdown of Japanese-American relations. TR's policy, he contends, "was a largely successful policy based upon realities at home and in the Far East." Because Taft, Knox, and certain State Department officials were unwilling or unable to perceive the military and political limitations behind it, they reversed it; in so doing, they set in motion some, at least, of the forces that were to culminate in disaster. Neu's most suggestive criticism of TR is that his penchant for secrecy prevented him from impressing his realistic conception of the limited nature of the United

States' interest in the Far East upon the public at large. This important insight is, unfortunately, not developed.

University of Virginia

WILLIAM H. HARBAUGH

THE LEO FRANK CASE. By *Leonard Dinnerstein*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1968. Pp. xiii, 248. \$6.95.)

ON April 26, 1913, Mary Phagan, at the age of thirteen, was murdered in Atlanta, Georgia. On April 29 Leo Frank, her employer in a small factory, was arrested, and on August 26 he was convicted of first-degree murder. Appellate proceedings culminated, on April 19, 1915, in a decision by the US Supreme Court, seven to two, denying a writ of habeas corpus. The majority noted that "the allegations of disorder [at the trial] were found by both of the State courts to be groundless except in a few particulars as to which the courts ruled that they were irregularities not harmful in fact to defendant and therefore insufficient in law to avoid the verdict"; the minority view, that of Holmes and Hughes, held "the presumption overwhelming that the jury responded to the passions of the mob." On June 21, 1915, Governor John M. Slaton of Georgia commuted the death sentence to that of life imprisonment.

On July 17, 1915, a fellow convict cut Frank's throat; several days elapsed before it was clear that the victim would live. On August 16, 1915, a party of twenty-five men took Frank from the state prison farm and executed him by hanging.

Professor Dinnerstein's study offers a running commentary on these events in their relation to the general southern and local Georgian endemic xenophobia in 1913-1915; anti-Semitism and the response of organized Jewish self-defense; trial by sensational newspaper coverage; and "case building" by the police, inept legal defense, and judicial cowardice.

The author states that "the original stenographic transcript of the trial does not seem to be in existence any more." The available "Brief of Evidence," used on appeal, does not include the questions asked by counsel at the trial. Dinnerstein fills in as well as he can by massive use of newspaper accounts, but, unfortunately, these are the same sources that serve to demonstrate the stupidity, malice, and hysteria of the scene. As has been true of so many lynchings, both in and out of the courtroom, one cannot arrive at much of an opinion on the question of guilt, however certain it is that no justice was done.

The Leo Frank Case offers a number of perceptive matchings: On August 22, 1913, Frank was found guilty of the murder of Mary Phagan; four weeks later the B'nai B'rith established the Anti-Defamation League. On June 21, 1915, Frank's death sentence was commuted by the governor; a few days later "one hundred and fifty men who called themselves the Knights of Mary Phagan . . . met secretly near her grave, and pledged to avenge the little girl's death"; "in the autumn of 1915 [about a month after the lynching] thirty-three of the Knights of Mary Phagan met on a mountain top just outside Atlanta and brought the [modern Ku Klux] Klan into being."

Washington, D. C.

LOUIS JOUGHIN

THE PEACE PROPHETS: AMERICAN PACIFIST THOUGHT, 1919-1941.

By *John K. Nelson*. [The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science, Volume XLIX.] (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1967. Pp. viii, 153. \$4.50.)

IN a deservedly praised essay Samuel Eliot Morison once advised students of history to avoid writing "dull, solid, valuable monographs," but the present monograph surely should not suffer from the Morisonian stigma for it is sprightly, solid, and valuable. Its author has kept his focus rather narrow, on pacifist thought as exhibited primarily in four periodicals of the interwar era: *The Christian Century*, *The World Tomorrow*, *The Nation*, and *The New Republic*. Where necessary, he has drawn from other printed literature. The result is a clear view of the "peace prophets"—the spokesmen for pacifism—between the two world wars.

The author shows the almost bewildering movement of pacifist thought in the interwar period. He does not claim for it a consistency during the swirl of twenty years of peace, prosperity, depression, and war. He points out that the pacifists usually were not dreamers, but sought to strike at the roots of war. To some of the pacifists the doctrines of peace came easily, in a sort of package, and later these persons could lay down their package. For others pacifism was a natural belief, and they could keep it in adversity. This excellent analysis of the interwar periodicals of peace deserves close attention by students of American history, and also by individuals concerned with present campus causes.

Indiana University

ROBERT H. FERRELL

REPUBLICAN FOREIGN POLICY, 1921-1933. By *L. Ethan Ellis*. (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 1968. Pp. ix, 404. \$10.00.)

PROFESSOR Ellis has written a thoughtful and stimulating chronicle of the metamorphosis of Republican foreign policy from 1921 to 1933. He includes chapters analyzing the domestic scene, the chief policy makers, problems confronted in relations with Europe, Latin America, and the Far East, and the response to Japanese aggression in Manchuria. Particularly important in the book is his account of the disarmament question, which consumes over one hundred pages.

His major thesis is that the period was one of transition from the traditional American posture of aloofness in world affairs to a new, more active era that arrived later; thus it was an age of "fits and starts" on the road to more dynamic participation. Given America's heritage and its preoccupation with domestic concerns, which precluded favorable public response to little but the *status quo*, policy makers in the twenties would have found it very difficult to chart an imaginative positive course had they been so inclined. Even so, the era was not one of isolationism but rather of "involvement without commitment," where much more cooperation and much less "arrant self-containment" existed than is commonly acknowledged. Ellis cites the Washington Conference, the other disarmament conferences, politics in Latin America and the Far East, and the Kellogg Pact as evidence of this involvement.

By way of comment, two points might be made. He may be correct in his characterization of the period, but without indulging too deeply in semantics, it seems reasonable to suggest that perhaps the term involvement is used loosely and that, consonant with its world status, the US cooperated only to a very limited degree. Indeed, one could posit that the examples cited represent negativism, or a desire to withdraw rather than participate, in world affairs. Secondly, the author's assertion that if, in the interest of understanding, the historian places himself in the shoes of the decision makers of the twenties and early thirties, he will be much more charitable toward those much-maligned gentlemen is plainly very commendable. Still, it seems axiomatic that foresight comprises in part the stuff that statesmanship is made of, and decisions of true statesmen must stand the test of time.

Notwithstanding these comments, the book makes a significant contribution to the literature of twentieth-century US foreign policy. Though the work reveals little new information, it constitutes excellent synthesis and scholarly analysis and is cogently and graciously written.

University of Oklahoma

RUSSELL D. BUHITE

POVERTY AND POLITICS: THE RISE AND DECLINE OF THE FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION. By *Sidney Baldwin*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1968. Pp. xvi, 438. \$10.00.)

THERE are advantages and disadvantages to political scientists writing history if this work is any indication. Sidney Baldwin has applied the particular *expertise* of the political scientist to the analysis and dissection of the Farm Security Administration with such occasional brilliance and insight as few historians can hope to attain, but his frequent ramblings into political theory and concept definitions can be, for a historian, pedantic and boring. A historian might tell himself smugly that he would never confuse Shays' Rebellion with the Whisky Rebellion or put a "t" on the end of William Jennings Bryan's name, as Baldwin does, but historians will have to admire his penetrating analysis of the philosophy and goals of the FSA.

The book begins with a dispensable chapter on administrative concepts and a review of rural poverty in America. The author then gets quickly to the main subject: the New Deal and rural poverty. Briefly, because others have written in these areas, Baldwin describes the early attempts by New Deal agencies to deal with farm tenancy and poor farmers. He then takes up the story of brain truster Rexford G. Tugwell and his dreams of social and land reform, which materialized in 1935 as the Resettlement Administration. Baldwin's history of the RA will probably prove to be the most useful one of this agency to date, although more remains to be written.

Out of the RA, the President's Committee on Farm Tenancy, the activities of Will Alexander and Frank Tannenbaum, and the work of Senator John Bankhead and Representative Marvin Jones, came the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act of 1937. This act provided for farm "security" (a popular word with New Dealers at this time) by means of loans to tenant farmers to buy their own farms with payments extending as long as forty years. According to

Baldwin, this was a watered-down version of what was originally proposed, and the basic outline of the FSA program was left to executive prerogative.

The liberal reformers who headed the FSA, Alexander and others, were not content with a limited farm purchase program. Under their leadership, the FSA moved into the following areas: loans to farmers in need, debt adjustment and assistance to tenants in negotiating with landlords, farm and home planning, encouragement of farm cooperatives, operation of camps and other aids to transient farm labor, resettlement of submarginal farmers, and rural rehabilitation.

Baldwin concentrates more on the philosophy and infrastructure of the FSA, the comings and goings of administrators, and the changes in methods and goals. He gives less attention to the workings of the FSA programs at the grass roots. One reason for this approach is his sources. It is difficult to imagine a history of the FSA written without extensive use of the records of the agency now in the National Archives, but Baldwin has done it, and, it must be added, done it well. He has used many printed government documents, the records of administrators Alexander and C. B. Baldwin and others, and a long and truly impressive list of interviews with key people, but his citations from the National Archives are very few. One suspects that had Baldwin combed the field reports, case studies, and letters from farmers and agents to be found in the Archives, his picture of the operation of the FSA in the field would have been more complete.

Baldwin describes the "golden years" of the FSA (1937-1942) and then the war years during which the FSA struggled for survival with what he calls a "siege mentality." He ends with the story of how the FSA was laid to rest by its enemies, first by withdrawal of appropriations and finally by positive action by Congress. Baldwin ascribes the death of the FSA to "new political winds blowing in wartime America" and says that when the New Deal was killed, the FSA as a symbol of the New Deal had to die with it.

Poverty and Politics is a significant history of an important New Deal agency. Those who want to understand the New Deal would do well to start with a detailed understanding of certain New Deal agencies, among them the Resettlement and Farm Security Administrations. Sidney Baldwin, perhaps with less technical skill but with keener insight into administration than most historians, has given us such a detailed study.

Southern Illinois University

DAVID E. CONRAD

THE ROAD FROM ISOLATION: THE CAMPAIGN OF THE AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR NON-PARTICIPATION IN JAPANESE AGGRESSION, 1938-1941. By *Donald J. Friedman*. [Harvard East Asian Monographs, Number 25.] ([Cambridge, Mass.:] East Asian Research Center, Harvard University; distrib. by Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. 1968. Pp. ix, 122. \$3.00.)

THIS is an able study of an important American foreign policy pressure group before Pearl Harbor. With initiative stemming particularly from former missionaries to China and with able leadership provided by Harry B. Price in New

York, the American Committee for Non-Participation in Japanese Aggression conducted a quietly effective crusade from 1938 to 1941 to stop the flow of munitions and war materials from the United States to Japan. Among prominent leaders of the organization were individuals so varied as Henry L. Stimson, Walter H. Judd, William Allen White, Roger S. Greene, and Admiral Harry Yarnell.

Prepared initially as a senior honors thesis at Harvard, this book is limited in its primary research largely to the records of the committee and to interviews and correspondence with its former leaders. The author did not examine any of the many private and official manuscript collections now open that might have further illuminated the committee's impact on government policies. The book is well organized, clearly written, and balanced in its interpretations. The author describes the committee's origins, leadership, methods, support, opposition, and eventual demise after its goal was accomplished following the adoption of the National Defense Act of 1940. Friedman demonstrates laudable restraint in his evaluation of the effects of the committee's efforts. He grapples thoughtfully with the relevance and limitations of the isolationist-internationalist controversy for a study of United States policies toward East Asia, a subject that scholars need to pursue further. His analysis of the committee's grass-roots support is a bit skimpy, but that may have been partly because of the loose-knit character of the organization, and to the fact that, essentially, a handful of people ran it.

This is an important little book. It is to the author's credit that it helpfully raises questions that invite additional research on public opinion and decision making on American Far Eastern policies before Pearl Harbor.

University of Maryland

WAYNE S. COLE

ROOSEVELT AND WILLKIE. By *Warren Moscow*. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall. 1968. Pp. xi, 210. \$6.95.)

WARREN Moscow, a former political reporter for the *New York Times*, believes the 1940 presidential campaign "stands out as a star attraction in a century of such elections" and has written this thin volume in that spirit. In what might aptly have been entitled "The Making of the President, 1940," Moscow devotes all but his final ten pages to the campaign and almost two-thirds of the entire study to events preceding the nominations. Advocating the theory that "factors that lead up to the nomination of the rival candidates . . . pretty well settle the election before a single speech is made by the candidates," the author is nonetheless highly critical of Willkie's campaign. Although he never suggests that the candidate snatched defeat from the jaws of victory, he criticizes Willkie for numerous errors in judgment that precluded any working of an electoral miracle. It is, however, the first two-thirds of the book that is most interesting, and, in my judgment, the best popular account of Willkie's build-up and preconvention strategy.

It is largely the product of Moscow's "own gathering rather than the product of research in other writings," although the author did consult some few published works "to refresh my memory." Relying upon his memory, the *New York Times*, and the Farley, Rosenman, and Sherwood studies, he presents

no new revelations on the Roosevelt campaign. The Willkie portions involved memory, Barnard's biography, and interviews with a dozen Willkie associates. The result clarifies such disputed points as the role of the Edison Electric Institute in furnishing cadres for local Willkie clubs, but it is basically a standard treatment.

The failure to include an index is a gross omission, and an occasional footnote would have been reassuring on some points. Moscow's decision not to research the written record—his complete bibliography consists of the items cited above—is of lesser moment. He was seated among the Michigan delegation when it assured Willkie the nomination and during the Democratic convention personally uncovered "the voice from the sewer" as it bellowed its Roosevelt advocacy through the convention's amplifier system. For these and other reasons, the author is himself a primary source.

Should Moscow's publishers issue an indexed paperback edition, *Roosevelt and Willkie* would make excellent collateral reading for twentieth-century United States survey courses.

University of Vermont

SAMUEL B. HAND

REPORTS OF GENERAL MACARTHUR. Volume I, THE CAMPAIGNS OF MACARTHUR IN THE PACIFIC; Volume I Supplement, MACARTHUR IN JAPAN: THE OCCUPATION: MILITARY PHASE. Prepared by his General Staff. Volume II, Parts I and II, JAPANESE OPERATIONS IN THE SOUTHWEST PACIFIC AREA. Compiled from Japanese Demobilization Bureaux Records. ([Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office. 1966.] Pp. xv, 490; xii, 312; xiii, 363; xii, 365–803. \$10.00; \$5.25; \$9.00; \$10.00.)

THE issue of *The Reporter* for October 14, 1952, carried an article by Jerome Forrest and Clarke H. Kawakami entitled "General MacArthur and His Vanishing War History." In a postscript to that article *The Reporter* wondered whether the MacArthur history would ever see the light of day. Here it is, in four folio-sized volumes, containing more than sixteen hundred pages and more than four hundred superb illustrations.

These volumes are a significant contribution to the historiography of World War II in the Pacific. Most of the hundreds of other volumes on that subject would have been better if this work had been available to their authors, and anyone who now writes about the Japanese side of World War II operations would be reckless to ignore this source.

In 1949 these volumes were aptly characterized to me by members of the MacArthur history staff as "MacArthur's War Against Japan" and vice versa. Volume I and its supplement contain useful information if one bypasses the laudation. In the preface to his *Reminiscences*, MacArthur said, "The greatest difficulty confronting me was that of recounting my share in the many vital events involved without giving my acts an unwarranted prominence." The editors of the present work do not appear to have worried about this, even though the paean is quite unnecessary. As of now his place in history, detailed by intimates and by himself, would seem to be unassailable. The day may come

when someone will write the story of MacArthur without fear of avoiding a hyperbole or two—perhaps even venturing an occasional litotes—but that will probably not affect his reputation.

Volume II is the best source of detailed information on the Japanese side of the war that will ever appear in English. It was prepared without the benefit of complete official Japanese war records, but it is derived from accounts by and interrogations of senior Japanese officers and augmented by wartime intelligence reports. Since Japan's official war records have now been returned, they are no longer readily available to researchers; the present accounts will have to serve as a basic source for Japanese details. The two parts of this volume are painstakingly edited with a skill that can be appreciated only, perhaps, by a person who has worked with the vagaries and complexities of rendering Japanese into English. The story is literate and coherent; the documentation is meticulous and complete; hyperbole is kept to a minimum (yes, it enters even here). The single greatest shame in this volume is a failure to credit the man responsible for its brilliant editing. The deft pen of Kawakami—one of the most careful users of our language I know—is apparent in almost every paragraph and footnote, and yet his name is absent. In explanation of this lacuna, I can suggest only that the credit writers were displeased by the revealing article in *The Reporter*. Yet Forrest, coauthor of that article, was a principal editor for Volume I and is appropriately listed in the credits.

There are many details about these volumes to which a critical reviewer might take exception. Why, for example, cite florid wartime press releases from MacArthur on the subject of Japanese battle losses when more accurate information was available from the Japanese side? One wonders why an account of the Japanese invasion of the Philippines should justify a footnote comment that MacArthur's G-2 "became involved in this landing attack in the sector of 71st Division. When all [other?] United States officers had become casualties, he took command of the 1st Philippine Constabulary, defending Agloloma Point and reestablished the position by a sharp counterattack." One wonders why only until realizing that the "he" is editor in chief of these volumes.

These are valuable and important books. Because they are, all users should read carefully the foreword by United States Army Chief of Staff General Harold K. Johnson. Read carefully, too, the preface by MacArthur and compare it with the purported quotation from that preface on the last text page of each volume. There are inconsistencies here.

One other great shame concerning this work is the frightful delay in its publication. The material of these volumes was in the hands of Department of the Army historians as early as 1953. At least one army historian exploited the material for use in his own official writing, yet it took thirteen years for publication. The full story of how these volumes eventually appeared would be of considerable interest.

Let us be grateful, therefore, for this publication and appreciate that it contains much valuable and important information. It should be used discriminately and, preferably, *after* reading "General MacArthur and His Vanishing War History."

Smithsonian Institution

ROGER PINEAU

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1945. Volume III, EUROPEAN ADVISORY COMMISSION; AUSTRIA; GERMANY. [Department of State Publication 8364.] (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office. 1968. Pp. vi, 1624. \$5.25.)

THIS volume relates less to the beginning of the cold war than to the ending of a hot one. The assumption of Four-Power collaboration for singular treatment of German questions persisted in the EAC negotiations on the surrender and post-surrender instruments, in the formulation of directives to American occupation authorities, and in Allied Control Council deliberations. Contrary tendencies are evident, to be sure. East-West tensions are illustrated in communications of Churchill, Harriman, Kennan, Murphy, and Grew. The fading dismemberment thesis was revived by the French. Agreement on economic decentralization and the army's inclination to "smash and run" encouraged unilateral, piecemeal approaches. But the prevailing idea, represented here by Winant, was unitary treatment to ensure Allied harmony as a cornerstone of world peace. Furthermore, the comprehensive and detailed inter-Allied agreements negotiated before the end of the war carried a powerful momentum of their own. As General Clay found, de-Nazification, reparations, and maintenance of a minimum standard of living, as well as order and efficiency, required national treatment. The Soviets were ugly at times, as in the Bern incident, and, with the French, often exasperating, but the balance that year in Central Europe lay with cooperation, common solutions, and surprisingly productive bargaining. With respect to Austria, early fears of a Soviet take-over proved exaggerated. By the end of the year an Austrian government had been established, and the United States was adequately accommodated at Vienna.

The timidity of the State Department, the autonomy of the military, and the vacillation of an enfeebled President are well documented. Problems of coordination between EAC representatives and various military headquarters and between departments in Washington resulted in drift, delay, and confusion. Policy-making machinery was so cumbersome, wrote one official, that the government's power to speak was "almost paralyzed."

The volumes of 1944 and 1945 papers, as well as the Yalta and Potsdam series, have to be used extensively in conjunction with this volume, but the task is greatly facilitated by thorough cross references. Annotation is excellent, and the topical arrangement is sensible. The volume does not pretend to exhaust the subjects dealt with, but the selection provides a well-knit and indispensable framework of documentation for the complex and diverse questions relating to the end of Nazi power. The text is not letter-perfect: lines are missing at the top of page 325, and the last complete paragraph on page 142 requires editorial treatment.

University of Illinois, Urbana

WALDO H. HEINRICH, JR.

LIBEL AND ACADEMIC FREEDOM: A LAWSUIT AGAINST POLITICAL EXTREMISTS. By *Arnold M. Rose*. Foreword by *Paul A. Freund*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1968. Pp. ix, 287. \$7.95.)

THIS book is at once intelligent and distorted in its point of view. In it, Arnold Rose, distinguished sociologist at the University of Minnesota, tells of his libel suit

against one Gerda Koch, a spokesman for certain "right-wing extremists," who, after his election to the Minnesota legislature in December 1962, denounced Rose as a "Communist collaborator" and "Communist fronter." The principal basis for the attack on Rose was his earlier cooperation with the Swedish economist Gunnar Myrdal in the writing of *An American Dilemma*, the now-celebrated study of the Negro in America.

In a seriocomic trial that revealed a vast amount about the "paranoid mentality" of the lunatic Right, Rose won his libel suit, only to have the Minnesota Supreme Court reverse the decision on the basis of the United States Supreme Court's opinions in *New York Times v. Sullivan* (1964), and in the companion cases of *Curtis Publishing Co. v. Butts* and *Associated Press v. Walker* (1967). In these cases, the Supreme Court nationalized the law of libel, bringing it under the aegis of the First Amendment, and imposed severe limitations upon the right of officeholders and "public personages" to sue their detractors for defamation.

On the basis of his own experience, Rose was moved by these decisions to vast indignation and resentment. In his opinion, they have left the field of political criticism open to irresponsible extremists and vicious Right-wing radicals, who, he believes, are out to destroy the American constitutional system and who are now free to defame whomever they wish without fear of reprisal. As a consequence, Rose says, the Court "has opened a hornet's nest of future political crises and moral cleavages throughout the nation," in which "only the most unscrupulous politicians and irresponsible people generally can ultimately benefit."

While there is some merit in Rose's criticism, it has little philosophic or historical insight. It fails completely to take into account the long struggle in the state courts to balance the private right to protection against defamation with the all-important right of free political criticism. Nor does it reckon with the growing judicial consensus of the last seventy years that the right to criticize political personages must be protected even at the expense of some damage to private reputation. In fact, the Court in the *Times*, *Butts*, and *Walker* decisions did little more than constitutionalize this widely established legal consensus. Rose does not see this; nor does he understand the larger dilemma for a free society implicit in his own unfortunate tangle with libel law.

Wayne State University

ALFRED H. KELLY

L'ÉTABLISSEMENT DE LA PREMIÈRE PROVINCE ECCLÉSIASTIQUE
AU CANADA, 1783-1844. By *Lucien Lemieux*. [Histoire religieuse du
Canada.] (Montreal: Fides. 1968. Pp. xxvii, 559. \$10.00.)

In this book, Lucien Lemieux makes it very clear that the development of the Roman Catholic diocese of Quebec to metropolitan status cannot be told as a simple story of ecclesiastical prosperity and expansion. It is a complicated story because after the conquest the Roman Catholics in Canada, the majority of whom were French-speaking, owed allegiance to two empires: a secular empire centered in London and a spiritual empire centered in Rome. Had the jurisdictions of Church and state in the colony been strictly separated, the problems of divided loyalty would not have arisen. But, as Lemieux demonstrates, neither Church nor state wanted separation since each wished to turn to its own purposes the

power and prestige of the other. The logical alternative—full recognition of the Church as the established church—was forestalled by the Elizabethan Act of Supremacy and the claims of the Church of England. The result, consequently, was an uneasy entente in which the Roman Catholic Church was accorded some degree of recognition and support by the imperial government; the hierarchy, in exchange, used its influence in civil affairs on the side of the *status quo*.

The alliance showed signs of strain whenever the question of the position and powers of the episcopacy was raised. As the Church expanded, therefore, and as new sees became necessary, periodic and prolonged negotiations took place in London and Rome, the point of which was to determine whether and how new bishops should be chosen, and, once selected, what should be their status in the colony. Lemieux takes a close look at these negotiations as the major theme of his book, and most of his attention is given over to a description and analysis of the voluminous correspondence that resulted from them. Looking over the evidence he presents, one finds it clear that the initiative for expansion of the episcopate came from the colony itself. The bishops, particularly the French Canadians, worked, in the interests of uniformity and unanimity, to establish a national Roman Catholic Church in British North America, which, while divided into separate sees, would be united through the metropolitan leadership of the archbishop of Quebec. Rather than actively pursuing plans of their own, officials in both London and Rome seem simply to have reacted to the frequent overtures for change emanating from the colonial hierarchy.

In pursuing his theme to its moderately successful conclusion—formation of the ecclesiastical province of Quebec in the 1840's—Lemieux has produced a highly detailed study. Indeed, if one had a criticism to make, it would be that the author shows a marked preference for intensive exposition when, in many instances, a briefer summary would improve the quality of the text. Perhaps a shorter book, more sharply focused, with an appendix composed of some of the relevant documents, particularly those from archives in Rome, would have been better. But this is a small point, and to dwell on it would not do justice to the work. The state of religious history in Canada is such that any book meeting even the minimum scholarly and artistic standards deserves grateful acknowledgment, and it is important to stress that Lemieux, with multilingual research in Canada and Europe, has easily surpassed the minimum.

McMaster University

H. E. TURNER

MÉXICO Y ESTADOS UNIDOS EN EL CONFLICTO PETROLERO (1917-1942). By *Lorenzo Meyer*. ([México, D. F.:] Colegio de México. 1968. Pp. 273.)

THIS useful addition to the literature on twentieth-century Mexican-United States diplomatic relations is a scholarly work, worthy of consideration by all students of the subject. The author has used several basic sources, including records of the US Department of State through 1933 and those of the *Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores de México* up to the early years of the administration of President P. E. Calles. For material on later years he has read widely in secondary

sources, notably the papers of Josephus Daniels, Daniels' own book, *Shirt-Sleeve Diplomat*, and E. David Cronon's *Josephus Daniels in Mexico*. In addition, an interesting array of Mexican sources is cited.

It is regrettable that Dr. Meyer was not given access to the US Department of State archives through the period 1933-1942, access that has been granted to scholars in this country. The issue of expropriation is settled, and it would be interesting to see how students from other countries would view the performance of the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt with the benefit of fuller knowledge.

On the technical side it is deplorable that the book was published without an index and without a bibliography. On page 220, for example, a possibly interesting reference to a book by one Armando María y Campos is blocked by an *op. cit.*; short of a bibliography, who will search through the preceding 219 pages for the title if he has not made his own listing en route?

El Colegio de México, with its unique access to local sources, can make an even more valuable contribution to knowledge in future volumes if, in what may become a series by its *Centro de Estudios Interamericanos*, it will ask its authors to assist other scholars by bibliographical and index references. The book is well edited and proofread, with the odd exception that Sumner Welles's last name is uniformly misspelled. A list of acronyms (*siglas*) would also be desirable.

Substantively there is interesting material, for example, on the domestic politics of "el grupo sonoreño" and the transition to Cárdenas in 1934, as well as on diplomatic maneuverings.

Interpretation of the policy of the United States during the period of the Good Neighbor policy is given in rather mechanistic terms as a consequence, first, of the Great Depression and, second, of the constraints on the United States and Great Britain resulting from the outbreak of World War II in 1939.

Such an interpretation, at least with respect to the United States, gives little comfort to a North American scholar who had felt that some measure of humane sympathy had indeed gradually mitigated, between 1938 and 1942, the originally legalistic postures of Sumner Welles, Cordell Hull, and even Franklin D. Roosevelt, when Lázaro Cárdenas surprised them on March 18, 1938, with the expropriation of the properties of Standard and other oil companies.

Social Science Research Council

BRYCE WOOD

SPANISH PERU, 1532-1560: A COLONIAL SOCIETY. By *James Lockhart*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1968. Pp. xii, 285. \$10.00.)

THIS excellent monograph focuses on Spanish urban society in Peru: "who the settlers were and what they did," as the author puts two of the classic questions posed by historians.

Professor Lockhart carefully brings the reader to accept his general conclusion that in Peru "all the main population centers, all the main economic and social trends, had taken shape by 1545 or 1550, and in many cases much earlier, in the course of a spontaneous, undirected development concurrent with the conquest and civil war."

In fact, the author's research and analysis center on Lima, with less data for

Cuzco and Arequipa, and still less for a few other urban centers. But within the manageable range of the archival sources and the organizational structure that he wisely delimited, Lockhart makes an impressive contribution to knowledge of the Spanish Empire in America.

He demonstrates the truth of the opinion held by some of us that Spanish Peru did not spring full-blown from the head of the great Viceroy Toledo (1569–1581). Before Toledo, in the 1530's, 1540's, and 1550's, there were perhaps as many as ten thousand Spaniards in Peru, supported by an auxiliary population, mainly black, of about the same size. Lockhart examines the evolving social and economic patterns of the colonists in this rich and remote land in chapters on *encomenderos* and *major-domos*, noblemen, professionals, merchants, artisans, sailors and foreigners, transients, Spanish women and the second generation, *Negroes*, and Indians.

The author draws his primary evidence mainly from the notarial archives of Peru and from the Archive of the Indies in Seville. He has a keen eye for the relevant data buried in the murky depths of the notaries' formulas, his footnotes are uncluttered models, and to these virtues he adds a forthright and engaging style. The book is well edited and printed; the index is useful if not exhaustive.

Spanish Peru, 1532–1560, is a major work by a young scholar who has helped to lay the basis for needed research in a relatively neglected area and, beyond Peru, for comparative studies of Spanish imperial history.

University of Texas, Austin

THOMAS F. MCGANN

SAN JUAN BAUTISTA: GATEWAY TO SPANISH TEXAS. By Robert S. Weddle. (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1968. Pp. xiv, 469. \$8.50.)

THIS is a history of the Mission San Juan Bautista del Rio Grande, at the present town of Guerrero in the Mexican state of Coahuila, thirty-five miles southeast of Eagle Pass, Texas. Founded in 1699, it was long the frontier outpost of the Spanish Empire on the Texas frontier. From it were launched the expeditions to challenge the French who were moving westward from Louisiana and to found mission settlements in Texas. It was also from this mission that Spain sought to check the Indian menace in the late eighteenth century. In addition, it was a center of activity during Mexico's War of Independence, during the Texas rebellion, and the Mexican-American War. Thus, this study of the mission is really a history of the Texas frontier.

The author has made extensive use of the vast archival holdings at the University of Texas as well as other pertinent primary sources. His use of secondary materials is equally exhaustive and even includes doctoral dissertations and master's theses that are often neglected. This book should be the definitive work on the San Juan Bautista Mission for many years.

Unfortunately, the author could have improved this worthwhile contribution to the field by providing adequate maps; as many of the sites mentioned no longer exist, the reader needs a better guide than the single map provided. Perhaps a more serious failing is the emphasis Mr. Weddle places on his material. He is so sympathetic to his sources that he accepts the judgment of

the friars uncritically. Statements such as the following are frequent: "The Indians living in the missions were not ready for self-government . . . ; if they were left to themselves, they would consume everything in a few days, then return to their nomadic life in the *montes*." Instead of accepting the claim that "For three years he reaped an abundant harvest of souls," the author should have at least concerned himself with the deficiencies of the mission system and why the natives never accepted more than a thin veneer of Hispanic civilization and an even thinner layer of Christianity.

This book is in the tradition of Herbert Eugene Bolton in the quality of its research and writing, but, as one authority put it: "Today's historian must do more than trace the route of monks until they fall off cliffs."

California State College, Fullerton

WARREN A. BECK

CROWN AND CLERGY IN COLONIAL MEXICO, 1759-1821: THE CRISIS OF ECCLESIASTICAL PRIVILEGE. By N. M. Farriss. [University of London Historical Studies, Number 21.] ([London:] University of London, Athlone Press; distrib. by Oxford University Press, New York. 1968. Pp. xii, 288. \$10.10.)

THIS fine study of the exercise of royal control over the clergy in colonial Mexico greatly illuminates a controversial and important subject. Pointing out that the traditional policy of the Habsburg kings of Spain had been one based on the belief that Church and state were equal and mutually dependent partners, the author carefully analyzes the new policies of Charles III and his regalist ministers who were determined to expand royal power and promote the economic development of Spain and its Empire. In their view the privileges and wealth of the Church were a major stumbling block to the achievement of their goal, and they accordingly set to work to prune down ecclesiastical powers.

Part One of the volume discusses the uses made of certain indirect controls over the clergy already available to the Bourbons such as the prerogatives derived from the *patronato real*, the *vicariato real* or regalist doctrine that the Spanish kings had the function of God's vicar-general in the American church, and such devices as the *proceso informativo* or secret summary inquiry. The author concludes this section of her work by discussing the crown's attempts to control the ecclesiastical judiciary by royal review of ecclesiastical cases and the use of the *recurso de fuerza* or method by which redress could be found in secular tribunals for alleged injustice in diocesan courts. The second and third parts of the book discuss the means used by Charles III and his ministers to reduce the powers of the Church courts and to narrow the scope of the ecclesiastical *fuero* or privilege of being tried in such courts.

Revealing a mastery of the intricacies of Spanish legal history, the author shows how the new legislation achieved its objectives on paper, but failed in practice to bring about the desired reforms. Furthermore, the Madrid government, by its efforts to curb the privileges of the clergy, paved the way for the major insurgent role that the Mexican clergy played in the war for independence. When in 1820 the royal government finally abolished clerical immunity in criminal cases,

it roused against itself not only the lesser clergy and the masses of the people but also the upper hierarchy, who tilted the scales in favor of independence to preserve the privileges taken from them by Madrid. The author sees the Church-state struggles of independent Mexico as a logical consequence of the measures taken by the Caroline ecclesiastical reformers at the close of the colonial period.

The book is clearly written and solidly based on primary sources from archives in England, Spain, and Mexico. The author uses her materials astutely and dispassionately; her work will be invaluable both for students of colonial New Spain and of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Mexico.

University of Virginia

C. A. HUTCHINSON

THE HIDALGO REVOLT: PRELUDE TO MEXICAN INDEPENDENCE. By *Hugh M. Hamill, Jr.* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press. 1966. Pp. xi, 284. \$7.50.)

THE bicentennial of Hidalgo's birth in 1953-1954 produced no substantial work on the controversial curate of Dolores and led Hugh Hamill into an attempt, in his doctoral work, to rectify the deficiency. The first fruit was his dissertation, completed in 1955. Subsequently, with further research, discussion, and evaluation, he modified that version and has now produced what appears to be the finest treatment of Hidalgo and his revolt in more than half a century. His work consists of four parts of unequal length: a discussion of New Spain of 1810, of its social, economic, intellectual, and political background; the ambitions, frustrations, and hopes of Mexican *criollos*; an excellent thirty-five-page biography of Hidalgo; and a thorough treatment of the revolt itself. Though each part could be read separately by specialist and layman with great profit, the author has linked them admirably, and the account moves smoothly from start to finish.

Hamill's bibliography is not exhaustive, consisting only of what he has actually used. It is, nevertheless, of exceptionally high quality and very extensive, reflecting much archival effort and thorough investigation of primary and secondary sources. He states that he was unable to use either Spanish or regional archives in the Bajío of Mexico, and so the work cannot be called definitive. Yet the nature of the materials used and the judicious manner in which they were used, as well as the careful judgments expressed from the available evidence, give the work all of the appearance of definitiveness that later additions and changed interpretations should not diminish easily. For our generation, at least, it may well be the standard treatment of this movement and its leader. Readers well acquainted with New Spain and the Western world of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries will find no major surprises in Hamill's volume, yet they should read it for the thorough balance, the fine attention to detail, the straightforward grappling with every conceivable point of controversy, and, above all, for its solid documentation. General readers might find the complexities of Hidalgo's early scholarly interest in theology boring; this is one area where the author's lively writing and concern for his readers are unable to lighten the load. There is enough compensation, however, in the multitude of intimate touches about Hidalgo's career to make it likely that Hamill will be widely quoted for years by students and general readers. His scholarly colleagues are indebted to him for

putting all of this together so well that they, too, will borrow liberally of his abundance.

San Diego City College

EUGENE K. CHAMBERLIN

BERNARDO O'HIGGINS. By *Jay Kinsbruner*. [Twayne's Rulers and Statesmen of the World Series, Number 8.] (New York: Twayne Publishers. 1968. Pp. 183. \$4.95.)

UNLIKE Bolívar and San Martín, Spanish American emancipators who disliked political administration, Bernardo O'Higgins used his military victories over Spain to gain and consolidate power. The leader of Chile's armies in the wars for independence, he held the post of supreme director and headed the republic's government between 1817 and 1823. Although a key figure in Chilean history, O'Higgins had received relatively little attention from North American historians until Professor Kinsbruner's book appeared.

In less than 150 pages of text, Kinsbruner presents a clear and well-written biography. After acknowledging his intellectual debt to Diego Barros Arana, who established a tradition in Chile of writing detailed political history, the author develops a narrative that emphasizes military, political, and diplomatic events. The strategy and tactics O'Higgins employed during his campaigns against the Spaniards receive particularly detailed attention. Turning to politics, Kinsbruner adroitly traces O'Higgins' rise to power as well as the constitutional and diplomatic maneuvers he employed once in office. His economic and social policies as well as his attitudes toward the Church receive less emphasis.

The supreme director fell from power, according to Kinsbruner, essentially because his dictatorial tendencies and his submission to Argentine foreign policy provoked most Chileans who were politicized. Throughout the book, in fact, the author suggests that O'Higgins was not his own man, but was a tool of San Martín, the government in Buenos Aires, and the Masonic movement. One might ask whether the Chilean elite had more fundamental reasons for deposing O'Higgins. The Supreme Director, as Kinsbruner mentions, prohibited the use of hereditary titles, decreed the abolishment of entails, and levied an income tax on all property owners. Furthermore, O'Higgins encouraged mass education and European immigration, policies that eventually would undermine the elite's monopoly of political power. Although he states that "by 1817 the landed aristocracy did not govern Chile exclusively," the author neither demonstrates this interesting assertion nor attempts to relate Chilean social structure to the political events of the independence period. Nevertheless, the book makes an important contribution in clarifying for English-language readers the labyrinthine events of Chilean politics during the period from 1810 to 1823.

University of Washington

CARL E. SOLBERG

GACETA DEL GOBIERNO DEL PERÚ: PERÍODO DE GOBIERNO DE SIMÓN BOLÍVAR. Volume I, 1823 (LIMA Y TRUJILLO); Volume II, 1824 (TRUJILLO Y LIMA); 1825, ENERO-JUNIO (LIMA); Volume III, 1825, JULIO-DICIEMBRE (LIMA); 1826, ENERO-MAYO (LIMA). Forewords by *Cristóbal L. Mendoza* and *Félix Denegri Luna*. Introduction by *Pedro Grases*. (Caracas: Fundación Eugenio Mendoza. 1967. Pp. cvi, 513; 547; 462.)

THIS facsimile edition of the *Gaceta del Gobierno del Perú* was published in honor of Venezuela's most famous son, Simón Bolívar, and in commemoration of the four-hundredth anniversary of the founding of Caracas. The purposes of publication, as stated by Eugenio Mendoza, are to facilitate the study of the personality of the Liberator and to provide a better understanding of an important period in the achievement of South American independence. According to Mendoza, "Bolívar has been much studied as a military man and politician, but not so much as a magistrate and an administrator. . . . In the *Gaceta*, his laws, decrees and resolutions interpret the Bolivarian concepts with relation to the various and multiple aspects to which a government ought to attend."

Until 1823 the conduct of military affairs had not allowed Bolívar sufficient peace and time for adequate expression of his ideas and plans in the field of public affairs of the nations under his control. Since the *Gaceta* was the official organ of his government in Peru between 1823 and 1826, this publication serves to make readily available additional authentic testimony of Bolívar's philosophy. Furthermore, as this journal contains numerous other items of interest, its significance for any study of the period is obvious.

As a result of careful research in various libraries and archives of Peru, Chile, Argentina, the United States, and Europe, these three volumes are believed to include virtually all regular and special issues of the *Gaceta* (usually published twice each week) from January 1, 1823, until May 10, 1826. Preceding issues from the initiation of the *Gaceta* on July 16, 1821, until the end of December 1822, corresponding to the period of the government of San Martín in Peru, were published in a facsimile edition in 1950 by the National University of La Plata in Argentina. The *Gaceta* terminated with the edition of May 10, 1826. It was succeeded by *El Peruano*, which began publication on May 13, 1826, and continues to the present day as the official journal of the government of Peru.

The lengthy prefaces by Cristóbal L. Mendoza and Félix Denegri Luna provide interesting commentary on significant issues of the *Gaceta* as well as on the earlier Peruvian press and other official Peruvian publications. An index enhances the usefulness of this valuable series.

National War College

WILLIAM COLUMBUS DAVIS

THE DYNAMIC OF MEXICAN NATIONALISM. By *Frederick C. Turner*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1968. Pp. xii, 350. \$8.50.)

NATIONALISM, as a product of the social revolution that began in 1910, is probably the strongest force in contemporary Mexican culture. Though this fact is generally recognized, there has been little systematic study of Mexican national-

ism. This book is an ambitious effort by a young scholar to fill the gap. In identifying an astonishing variety of elements that constitute or reflect nationalism, Turner argues that Mexico's experience has been unique. Nationalism has given its society a "particular cohesiveness and flexibility" that has encouraged potentially antagonistic groups to work harmoniously for political stability, social justice, and economic growth. While emphasizing the role of xenophobia and of the drive toward social equality in promoting nationalism, the book also deals with topics as diverse as military technology, the breakdown of currency after 1910, the philosophy of *lo mexicano*, school texts, and the Church. Moreover, one-third of the book is devoted to the century before 1910. Amid this variety, there are numerous interesting discussions: for example, on the significant role of women in the Revolution; on the use of revolutionary heroes in popular writings; and on films that depict patriotic themes.

In the main, however, Turner's wide-ranging approach is a defect rather than a strength. It results in methodological confusion, in superficial treatment of some topics, and in occasional unsubstantiated assertions. The author is a political scientist who is attempting the difficult feat of combining the methods of intellectual and cultural history with those of sociology. He often uses his many kinds of sources loosely and indiscriminately, as, for example, when he cites post-1910 Mexican writings as evidence that the *científicos* of the Díaz regime lacked a nationalistic outlook. On another occasion, his principal source for a discussion of worker participation in the early Revolution is an article from the *New York Times*. Turner says in the preface that personal interviews were important for his work, yet he refers specifically to only one or two such interviews. It would be more satisfying to the reader had the author pursued further the assertion, among others, that the "spirit of Latin Americanism" in contemporary philosophy enhances nationalism rather than competes with it; or that the breakdown of family loyalties during the violent years strengthened loyalty toward the national community; or that the destructiveness of the Revolution led to a general desire for unity. Turner is to be commended for an ambitious and significant undertaking, but the book would have been far better had he spent a few more years deepening his study and refining his methods.

University of Iowa

CHARLES A. HALE

THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION, 1910-1914: THE DIPLOMACY OF ANGLO-AMERICAN CONFLICT. By *Peter Calvert*. [Cambridge Latin American Studies, Number 3.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1968. Pp. x, 330. \$9.50.)

THIS excellent monographic study is precise, clear, gracefully written, and well documented. One cannot be too lavish in praising the scholarly attributes of Dr. Calvert. Specialists in the history of the Mexican Revolution will appreciate the book most, but students with a background in the subject will find it enriching. Scholars in the area of Anglo-American diplomatic history will also read this work with profit because it cites numerous early dispatches of Cecil Spring-Rice and Walter Hines Page and provides insights into the general American policy of Sir Edward Grey.

The study covers a short period, beginning with the foundering of the Díaz regime in 1910 and ending with the diplomatic isolation of Huerta in early 1914. It is not a Mexican history, but an aspect of United States-British relations in the setting of revolutionary Mexico. Calvert concludes generally that the British did not intentionally thwart United States policy in Mexico, but rather had a difficult time in accommodating to it. This will raise some questions, because Lord Cowdray, the British oil magnate, has been looked upon as the gray eminence in the Huerta regime. Calvert definitely downgrades Cowdray's influence. The author, instead, sees the problem as arising from the actions of individuals, often not well informed, who caused a misunderstanding when basic agreement existed all along. In presenting a history in which personalities play such an important part, Calvert paints word portraits of the diplomats involved that are most engaging: Henry Lane Wilson, Nelson O'Shaughnessy, John Lind, Thomas Hohler, Francis William Stronge, and Sir Lionel Carden. He is perceptive with reference to the American political scene at the time, although he relies heavily upon Arthur S. Link and John Morton Blum for his views concerning Woodrow Wilson.

While Calvert emphasizes the English viewpoint, he is too good a scholar to be biased. He takes a few genteel jabs, but is not as harsh on Wilson as American writers. As might be expected, however, he is more critical of Madero and less so of Huerta than American scholars. Some may complain that Calvert quotes from his sources excessively, but, since many of these principally British diplomatic dispatches are not available in this country, the practice may actually be helpful. All in all, it was a pleasure to read this informative study.

Pennsylvania State University

CHARLES D. AMERINGER

DER DEUTSCHE FASCHISMUS IN LATEINAMERIKA 1933-1943. [Veröffentlicht durch Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin.] (Berlin: the Universität. 1966. Pp. 204.)

THIS review must be started with a few observations. It was printed in East Germany and is a collection of essays by East German scholars. While the Marxian bias is obvious in all of the essays, it does not detract from the good, scholarly research, and there is no doubt in my mind that this book represents a serious and needed contribution to recent Latin American history. It has seven essays, of which the first, by Friedrich Katz, who is identified as a full professor of modern history at Humboldt University in East Berlin, is entitled "Some Main Features of the Politics of German Imperialism in Latin America between 1898 and 1941"; it is decisively the most important part of this book. It presents an excellent and, I believe, truthful summary based on a wealth of sources, and it is, furthermore, beautifully organized and exhibits clarity and scholarship.

According to Katz, Imperial Germany's total policy toward Latin America was in five diverse directions: unilateral German advances with special emphasis on giving the German Navy bases in Latin America; encouraging European nations, especially Great Britain, to join Germany in increasing their influence in Latin America in order to stop the United States in its Latin American adventures; doing the opposite and persuading the United States to offer an alliance

with Germany whereby Germany would help the United States to contain Japan and England in return for a share of influence in Latin America; using traditional nineteenth-century economic imperialism; and encouraging Germans to emigrate to Latin America and permanently settle to become a powerful force to aid German penetration.

Each of these is explained with facts. Katz then details post-Imperial Germany's policy until 1941. He says that during the Hitler period only the fourth and fifth directions were used, to which was added active subversion that concentrated mainly on the ABC states. In all, I repeat, it is an illuminating study.

The other essays are of good quality but of narrow scope and do not coincide with the main outline of the leading article by Katz. Three deal with Nazi policies toward Argentina, Colombia, and Central America and the West Indies. The other two are about Nazi radio propaganda to Latin America, and, finally, there is a most interesting article about origins and activities of the German community of southern Brazil from 1835 to 1938.

We have here a commendable work that should be consulted, expanded, corrected, or refuted by other historians interested in recent Latin American history.

University of South Florida

CHARLES W. ARNADE

THE POLITICS OF EXILE: PARAGUAY'S FEBRERISTA PARTY. By
Paul H. Lewis. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1968. Pp.
xxv, 209. \$6.00.)

For some years now North American political scientists specializing in Latin American government have pointed out that the role of the political party in Latin America has been greatly neglected. It has been suggested that more attention be devoted to analyzing the inner processes and dynamics of Latin American political parties. The author of this volume has helped to correct the deficiency with this study of the Febrerista party of Paraguay. As the title of the book indicates, the primary concern has been to investigate the nature and methods of political parties operating in exile; the Febrerista party is the vehicle through which the author accomplishes his purpose.

Lewis has found that, in the broadest sense, exiled parties are not far different from other political parties. They have similar objectives and attempt to gain power through competing for the support of the people. There are, however, certain important differences that result from the illegal and clandestine status of the parties and their formal removal from the nation's political life. The internal organization of the parties, the tactics they employ to attain their objectives, the problems of leadership, and the role of ideology are all seriously affected by the abnormal conditions under which the parties are forced to operate. The heart of the book is the description and analysis of the internal workings of the Febrerista party. Of particular interest are the descriptions of the struggles for party leadership and the ideological disputes within the party. The reader cannot help but be impressed by the imaginative research that has gone into this work. Since much of the research had to be done through personal interviews, the author had contact with hundreds of party members and interviewed many of the party's leaders.

There are, unfortunately, parts of the work that are weak and seriously flawed. That portion of the book devoted to the geography and history of the country from independence to recent times reveals only superficial knowledge of those matters. Facts and dates are often wrong, and specialists in that history may well disagree with the author's interpretations. When Lewis is dealing with the analysis of the Febrerista party, he is on firmer ground, and his conclusions are more acceptable. In spite of the criticisms, the work does have merit; it contributes to our understanding of *febrerismo* and also to an understanding of the existing government of Paraguay.

Wright State University

L. ROBERT HUGHES

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T. Robert S. Broughton, University of North Carolina

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Bernard J. Holm, Wartburg Theological Seminary

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Leland H. Carlson, Claremont Graduate School

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Beatrice F. Hyslop, Hunter College

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Emiliana P. Noether, University of Connecticut

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Donald E. Worcester, Texas Christian University

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* * * * *Association Notes* * * * *

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The ten-year *General Index* to the *American Historical Review* for the years 1955-1965 is now available. The price is ten dollars per copy, and orders should be addressed to the Business Office of the Association. A limited number of the earlier twenty-year *General Index* for the years 1935-1955 are still available through the Macmillan Company, 866 Third Avenue, New York, New York 10022, also at the price of ten dollars per copy.

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RECENT DEATHS

Helen Maggs Fede of Washington, D. C., died February 5, 1968.

Charles Howard McIlwain, President of the American Historical Association during the year 1935-1936, died June 1, at the age of ninety-seven. He graduated from Princeton in 1894, was admitted to the bar in Pennsylvania in 1897, and received his Ph.D. from Harvard in 1911. It took him some time to decide that he wanted to be a teacher, but after a brief experience at Miami University of Ohio, he was called to Princeton in 1905 as one of the remarkable group of young preceptors whom Woodrow Wilson was then recruiting. He went to Bowdoin in 1910 and moved to Harvard in 1911, where he taught as professor of history and government for thirty-five years. When Harvard reluctantly allowed him to retire at the age of seventy-five, his zest for teaching was still unabated, and he conducted graduate seminars at Princeton in 1948 and 1949.

There would not be space, nor is there need, to list all the honors that he received: the Pulitzer Prize in 1923, the *Festschrift* dedicated to him in 1936, the Eastman professorship of history at Oxford in 1944, the long array of honorary degrees. These honors could only partially reflect the universal esteem in which

he was held. As a scholar, he was unrivaled in the breadth of his knowledge and the freshness of his ideas. He led a whole generation of students of English constitutional history into new paths with his *High Court of Parliament*. He called attention to neglected aspects of the English relationship with the colonies in *The American Revolution: A Constitutional Interpretation*. He gave a new picture of the development of political theory in his *Growth of Political Thought in the West* and his *Constitutionalism: Ancient and Modern*. As a teacher, he had the rare ability to infuse his students with his own enthusiasm for constitutional history and political theory. There are many dull books and dull writers in these fields, but no books or writers ever seemed dull after McIlwain had explained their significance. As a man he was wise, patient, and kindly, quick to praise and slow to blame. Few members of our profession have been so greatly admired and so widely loved.

Ellen J. Bishop of Reading, Pennsylvania, died August 23.

Harry Elmer Barnes, a life member of the Association, was born near Auburn, New York, on June 15, 1889, and died at Malibu, California, on August 25, 1968. Graduating *summa cum laude* from Syracuse University in 1913, he studied history and sociology at Columbia, taking his Ph.D. in 1918. A professor of historical sociology at Clark and at Smith, he taught as a visitor or lectured at other universities and at the New School for Social Research. For many years he was the leading practitioner and promoter of the New History as it had been outlined at Columbia by James Harvey Robinson and others. Barnes's extensive historical writing vigorously exemplified the main contentions of the New History: that the study of the past should take into account the concepts, methods, and findings of the related social sciences and be relevant to the concrete social, economic, and political issues of the day. At the same time his historical writings also reflected, in the words of Ernest Sutherland Bates, "an omnivorous digestion of facts." His publications, in his own name and in collaboration with others, together with the many volumes he edited and a vast number of book reviews, made him one of the most prolific writers in the profession.

Barnes was also the most controversial historian and publicist of his time. He aroused the wrath of the conventionally religious by his defense of "science" when it conflicted with religion and the hostility of a large part of the bench and bar when, drawing on his studies in the history of penal institutions, he argued for the abolition of the jury system and its replacement by panels of experts in psychology, sociology, economics, and law. In challenging prevailing explanations of the origins of World War I (*Genesis of the World War* [1926]) he was a pioneer of "revisionism." He was also a leader in World War II "revisionism," particularly in attacking the generally accepted explanations of American involvement in the struggle. Notwithstanding the oversimplified and polemical character of his work in this field, he raised important questions and critical issues.

Barnes sustained his interest in historiography; *The History of Historical Writing* (1937; 1963) was well thought of by competent scholars. Perhaps his

most important contributions in his historical writing were the sweeping but factually informative syntheses of the economic and particularly the social and cultural development of Western civilization. As a writer of college texts and popular articles he was an outstanding champion of broadening the historian's frame of reference. His most enduring work in the history of ideas is *Social Thought from Lore to Science* which he coauthored with Howard Becker.

In undergraduate teaching Barnes favored the "shock" method as a means of making students examine their underlying presuppositions, a method that also characterized much of his work in adult education. No one could have been more generous in helping younger scholars and in making available to inquirers his impressively encyclopedic information. Carl Becker, thinking of Barnes's dedication to his values and to the causes in which he believed, best summed up his career in calling him "the learned Crusader."

Carolyn Vogland of Minneapolis, Minnesota, died August 30.

Violet Barbour, professor emeritus at Vassar College, died August 31, at the age of eighty-four. Her field of interest was England in the seventeenth century with emphasis on business and economic history and Anglo-Dutch relations. Her book, *Henry Bennett, Earl of Arlington*, was awarded the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize; *Capitalism in Amsterdam in the Seventeenth Century* is perhaps the best-known of her works.

William Bell Clark, Sr., of Brevard, North Carolina, died November 1, at the age of seventy-nine. He was the editor of the series *Naval Documents of the American Revolution*, the third volume of which appeared in 1968.

John T. Farrell, professor at Catholic University of America, died November 5, at the age of fifty-seven.

Weymouth Tyree Jordan, professor at Florida State University since 1949 and head of the department of history from 1954 to 1964, died November 22. An authority on the history of the Old South and on American agricultural history, he was the author of nine books and more than fifty articles.

Arthur K. Marmor, historian of the US Air Force and a member of the Warren Commission staff, died in December.

John R. Lohmann of Misenheimer, North Carolina, Lois B. Turner of Manhattan, Kansas, and John Cook Wyllie of Charlottesville, Virginia, former members of the Association, died recently.

COMMUNICATIONS

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Professor Norman Palmer's generally kind review of my book, *The Swatantra Party and Indian Conservatism* (*AHR*, LXXIV [Oct. 1968], 261), concludes

by noting "One surprising omission," my failure to cite Jhangiani's *Jana Sangh and Swatantra*. He states: "This perhaps Freudian slip accounts for the absurd observation in the preface that 'nothing of any consequence has been written about the Swatantra Party.'"

I should point out that (as Palmer notes) Jhangiani's book was published in 1967, while my preface is dated December 1966 (which Palmer does not note). This would suffice to explain to a careful reader my "absurd observation in the preface." And while I did receive Jhangiani's book when I was correcting page proofs, two considerations prompted me to omit reference to it. First, many pages of bibliography would have required resetting. Second, certain of Jhangiani's pages on Swatantra are virtually identical to parts of an article on Swatantra that I had published earlier (1964), although the latter is nowhere cited in the former. Under the circumstances, I deemed it best to avoid reference to this title, although technically I had the chance to do so. Despite its rather cavalier approach to accepted canons of scholarship, Jhangiani's book may be read with profit; but Professor Palmer could have found a more felicitous way of calling it to the attention of your readers.

Dartmouth College

HOWARD ERDMAN

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Professor Erdman's admission that he received Dr. Jhangiani's book when he was correcting page proofs strengthens my feeling that his failure to list it is indeed a "surprising omission." The reasons that he gives for this omission are almost equally surprising. Some resetting of the bibliography would surely have been justified in order to include the most important book on the Swatantra party prior to Professor Erdman's own volume. His charge that "certain of Jhangiani's pages on Swatantra are virtually identical to parts of an article . . . that I had published earlier" and his reference to Dr. Jhangiani's "rather cavalier approach to accepted canons of scholarship" are unworthy of him and an unjustified aspersion on a serious young Indian political scientist. My own careful comparison of Jhangiani's book and Erdman's article—made while I was in India, shortly after Erdman had sent a complaint to Jhangiani's principal, not to Jhangiani himself—indicated that the extent of duplication was minimal, to say the least, confined largely to a few words in a few sentences. I do not wish, however, to become involved in this pettiness.

Professor Erdman's statement that "nothing of any consequence has been written about the Swatantra Party" is, it seems to me, amply refuted by his own footnotes and bibliography. Surely, for example, he does not regard his doctoral dissertation and five of his articles, all of which he cites, as of no consequence. If he does, he is being almost as unfair to himself as he has been to Dr. Jhangiani.

University of Pennsylvania

NORMAN D. PALMER

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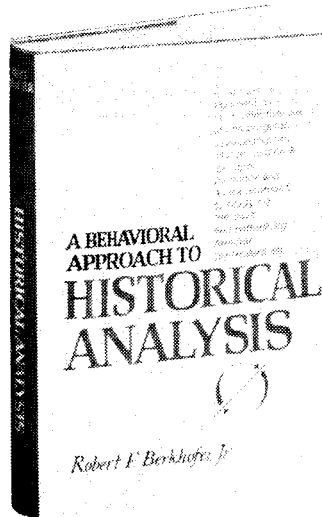
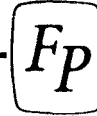
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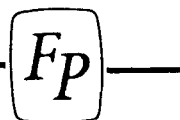
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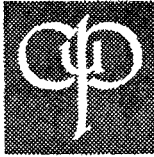
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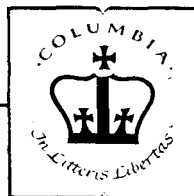
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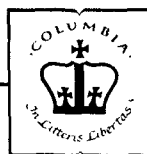
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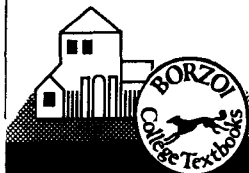
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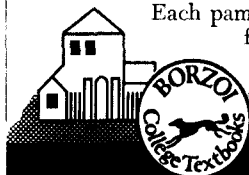
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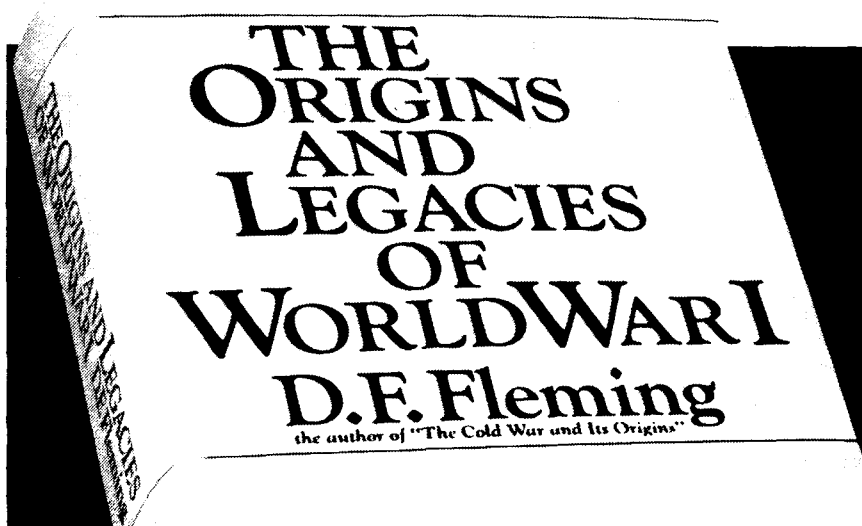
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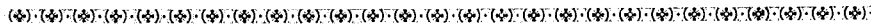
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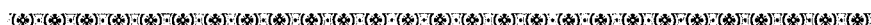
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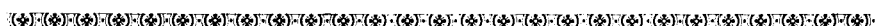
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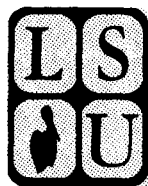
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